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"Grass Rooters" in Conference

THE conference held last week at Springfield, out on the prairies of Illinois, may be taken as the first move of the Republican party in the campaign of 1936. Much of the old Republican skill was invoked to divest this gathering, which drew delegates from ten States in the Middle West, of a partisan character, and to give it the appearance of a spontaneous uprising of indignant citizens, united until death to "save the Constitution."

The wily Republicans have always been the envy of their simple Democratic opponents in arranging this sort of meeting. They know how to carry out their plans with a minimum of friction. The stalwart Chicago *Tribune* donated the services of its most expert reporters, and one of them, Philip Kinsley, wrote an article of unusual interest and power for the issue of June 10. "Young Republicans drank deep today of the memories and traditions of the youthful Lincoln," he wrote, and then called the roll of New Salem, Clary's Grove, Jack Kelso, Mentor Graham, John Allen, Bowling Green, and Denton Offut, not forgetting to quote from Masters' "Spoon River Anthology":

I am Anne Rutledge who sleep beneath these weeds,
Beloved in life of Abraham Lincoln,
Wedded to him not through union,
But through separation.
Bloom forever, O Republic
From the dust of my bosom!

In the patois of vaudeville, these beautiful lines are "sure-fire tear-jerkers," but their connection, and the connection of Mr. Kinsley's historical musings, with the Grass Rooters is somewhat remote. The remoteness from this conference "to save the Constitution as it is," lengthens into an illimitable distance, when it is remembered that directly and indirectly Lincoln was responsible for a number of major changes in the Constitution.

Perhaps, after all, the well-known Republican finesse was overdone at Springfield, for the meeting was strongly reminiscent of Hammerstein, Belasco, and P. T. Barnum. There is small doubt that this moment, which sees the prestige of the President weakened by the rejection of his program by the Supreme Court, offers the Republicans a long-awaited occasion for exploiting the general iniquity of the Democratic party. Yet, as Arthur Krock points out in the *New York Times* for June 12, "when one examines the 'new' government policies proposed at Springfield, one cannot escape the conclusion that the New Deal got a fair indorsement." The real nub of the resolution adopted by the Conference is the attack on the President himself. Hitherto the fire has been directed against his advisers, and Donald Richberg, Raymond Moley, General Johnson, and the rest of the "brain trusters" have been sprayed with equal assiduity and impartiality. At Springfield, all the batteries were let loose on the President.

As far as Democrats and Republicans are in question, the attitude of this Review has long been "a plague on both your houses." Partisanship interests us not at all, except as an evil to be fought, but good government interests us supremely. It must be admitted, however, that party action is, perhaps inevitably, attended with a deal of partisanship. As Napoleon said, men are won by toys, and while we are no longer lured to the polls by fireworks, free lunches, and torch-light processions, verbal pyrotechnics are substituted today for the encouragement of the multitude. Yet on the whole the conference of the Grass Rooters appeals to us as a sign of returning political health. We do not like its partisanship, and we deeply deplore the reactionary tendencies of Governor Lowden's address, but we hope that this conference is the forerunner of meetings that will be more spontaneous in character and more enlightened in their proceedings.

As long as we have a party system in Congress, the Administration needs a strong opposition. It has not had that opposition for nearly two years. Attention to that lack was drawn by this Review from the first day that the Congressional mills began to grind, with thousands of bills pouring out of the hopper. President Roosevelt himself admits that had more attention been given to the preparation of these measures, the clauses delegating authority might have been sustained by the Supreme Court. But to save a month, the time mentioned by the President, two years have been lost. It is no secret that in the early months of 1933 Congress enacted legislation of the most far-reaching character, although few members had so much as read the text of the bills presented. Senators Borah, King, Glass, and a few others protested in vain the unconstitutional character of many of the statutes enacted, but the opposition was never able to make itself felt. One word, "emergency," kept the mills grinding.

Issues of the gravest moment must be decided by the country, and it is the duty of every American citizen to know them. A conference of Grass Rooters is to be welcomed, if it stirs interest, and even indirectly leads to enlightenment. This country cannot be a government for, by, and of the people, when the people, concerning themselves with everything but government, entrust their political destinies to partisan groups.

The Utilities Fight Back

THE potter that attends discussion of the Wheeler-Rayburn bill for the regulation of public-utility companies is somewhat suspicious. Masters in the art of propaganda, the companies have surpassed themselves in this campaign, greatly to the profit of the printing trade and of the post-office department. It is natural for owners of property to resent what they consider infringements upon their rights, but also natural for owners to expand the orbit of their rights. Few men, and fewer utility companies, are good judges in their own cause.

Despite all propaganda the President has not abated his demands, and the Senate has granted them. It may be that the House will modify the bill, but at the present moment it would seem to be all but certain that, within a few months, the utility companies will be eating humble pie, an article that has never figured in their diet. More accustomed to champagne and truffles, they will doubtless turn up their aristocratic noses for a time, but there is no danger whatever that they will decide to go out of business rather than submit to the regulation imposed by the Wheeler-Rayburn bill.

Apologists for the companies claim that the bill creates not regulation but control. Apart from the fact that control is precisely what the public thinks they need, this assertion should not be taken too seriously. Buttressed by the powerful argument that legislation would impoverish all the widows and orphans in this fair land, that claim is a stock in trade with the utilities. They have used it for years to block regulation in the public interest, and they will probably use it again. It sounds well,

means nothing, and imposes no obligations of any kind upon the utilities themselves, to widows, orphans, or the public.

One pleasing result of the bill, if enacted, will be that hereafter it will be humanly possible to discover who owns a utility company, and to fix the owner's or owners' obligation to the holders of stocks and bonds. Up to the present, ownership has been as unknown as the name Achilles took when he hid among the women.

The Lawyer's Fee

IN the Federal court at Oklahoma City, a nice point in legal ethics has arisen. The Government recently indicted two lawyers, on the charge that the lawyers demanded as their fee part of the money which they knew had been paid their kidnaping client as ransom. The lawyers' retort, as it filters through the Associated Press report, is that when a client offers a fee no member of the bar is obliged, or even supposed, to inquire whether the money was stolen or acquired in any other improper manner.

The ruling of the judge halted what promised to be a heated, if not illuminating, discussion, but the subsequent remarks from the bench seem to cloud a very clear case. The judge was correct in holding that the issue before the court was simply whether the defendants had accepted the money, knowing it to be ill gotten. But he added, in the manner of one stating a general principle, "the attorney has a right to be employed, and he does not have to ask the client where he gets his money for a fee."

It may be that the reporter has left out phrases which would modify this doctrine, but as it stands, it is open to a number of objections. Parallel with the lawyer's right to plead for his client is his duty to take reasonable care that nothing in his conduct of the case is contrary to accepted legal and moral standards. Were this not true, there would be nothing reprehensible in the conduct of the lawyer who, in the apocryphal tale, instructed a penniless prospective client to go out and rob a bank, and then come back prepared to retain counsel. It is quite probable that in nine out of ten cases, the lawyer will have no reasonable grounds for suspecting that his fee is part of the loot, but in the tenth case grounds for suspicion will be as thick as blackberries in August. It is carelessness about the tenth case that is bringing the bar into disrepute. Only a few members may be guilty, but the bar as a whole shares the ignominy.

The right of the lawyer "to be employed" does not authorize him to share in the profits of crime. Both common sense and the profession's code of ethics leave no doubt on that point. For the healing of their weaker members, the bar associations should stress this elemental truth, and this means of reform failing, adopt stronger measures. Incidentally, not all the offenders practise in the criminal courts. In cases involving trusts and corporations the attorney, mindful of his conscience and of the honor of his profession, will often be obliged to ask his client where he got his money. It should not be impossible

to discover the truth, for in corporation as in kidnaping cases, the bills are often marked.

Put Parole on Probation

NO one was especially surprised to learn that the two kidnapers in the Weyerhaeuser case were paroled convicts. It would have been somewhat surprising to learn that they were not. One of these kidnapers has a record of seven, the other of six, arrests on serious charges, and had their sentences been allowed to stand, each would have been behind the bars for the next thirty years. On the very day of their capture, New York, where a man, paroled from a sentence for murder, committed a second murder, furnished another example of what the parole system has come to mean in the popular mind in this country.

No doubt, this fairly general impression can hardly be substantiated by the facts, yet conditions are so bad that the President was fully justified in writing to the Attorney General, asking him to make a study of the paroles in the Weyerhaeuser case. But the study should not stop there. The Dillingers, the Floyds, the Waleys, and the Mahans, to mention only the cases that readily come to mind, have made a re-examination of the system wholly necessary. Everyone will agree, with the President, in supporting "humane parole systems which seek rehabilitation of offenders," but all will agree no less emphatically that we must "prevent the abuses of parole, especially in the case of habitual criminals." In itself the system is an admirable device which tempers justice with mercy, and by striving to fit the prisoner for life in a civilized community, serves the State no less than it benefits the man. But in its administration, the parole system in this country has too often operated as an encouragement to the lawless to continue in their criminal courses.

More than a quarter of a century ago, the late Chief Justice Taft wrote that the administration of the criminal law was a national scandal. Unfortunately, conditions have not improved but, rather, have grown worse since 1908. The criminal classes have wrested not only the automobile, the airplane, and the radio to their uses, but even the devices founded for their reformation. Meanwhile, the intrusion of politicians and other criminals into the work of the local police and the operations of the courts has become more shamelessly corrupt. As the Hon. Alfred J. Talley, of New York, once remarked, after a career in the office of the district attorney, "in criminal cases, the cards are apt to be stacked against the public." The chances are against the capture of the criminal, but even when the police apprehend him, and are allowed to keep him, he can rely on the folly or dishonesty of the jury, the weakness of the examining magistrate, or the wiles of his legal counsel. Should these fail, there is always the parole system.

The fault of the parole system is not that it will not work, but that it is not permitted to work. Its personnel demands men of good judgment and discretion, trained for their important functions. What the system usually

gets, or too frequently gets, is political hacks who have proved their incompetence in every other department, but whose party services merit reward. Next, even when the officials are competent, they are generally too few. Someone has said, in reference to the petty appropriations, that parole boards already get more than they deserve. That may be true, but in not a State in the Union are the appropriations sufficient to attract competent officials, and hold them, and to make the work of the parole board really effective. As Leacock said of teachers, the boards should either be abolished, or given a living wage. Under present circumstances, allowing for individual exceptions, they are little better than shams, and often worse.

The parole system must be put on probation. The ensuing examination will probably convince all that it should either be supported properly or abolished.

Dropping the Pilot

PROBABLY the phrase is too strong, but it was recalled by many when Donald Richberg sent in his resignation to the President. For even in the hey-day of his power, Mr. Richberg was hardly more than an assistant to the pilot, although he was commonly credited with supreme authority over the administration of the Recovery Act. Whatever the truth may be, Mr. Richberg's connection with the Recovery program, especially during the last six months, was very close. Now that the Supreme Court has declared the greater part of that program to be out of harmony with the Constitution, Mr. Richberg quite naturally feels that his usefulness to the Administration is at an end.

Mr. Richberg did not live up to the high expectations of his friends. Reviewing his labor record, we applauded his appointment, believing that he would not hesitate to stretch a point, as would be entirely proper, to aid the wage earner. But grievous disappointment succeeded a period of hopeful waiting. When Mr. Richberg began to issue interpretations of Section 7a, which guaranteed labor's right to collective bargaining, it seemed to us that power had altered Mr. Richberg's earlier views, for the interpretations destroyed collective bargaining. The militant John L. Lewis in an open meeting accused Mr. Richberg of "selling labor for a price," but without admitting that accusation, it is perfectly clear that in Mr. Richberg the textile and the automobile workers had no friend at court.

The President has been unhappy in many of his appointments, notably in Mr. Richberg. A manner which many interpreted as arrogance was not calculated to conciliate favor for the New Deal. On more than one occasion he went out of his way to attack the doctrine of natural rights, and to speak as though the civil authority were the source of all rights and the sanction of all duties. That unhallowed doctrine is familiar enough in our law schools but there it has usually been regarded as an academic theory, and nothing more. When Mr. Richberg, however, dragged it out into the open, many Americans, especially those who from the outset believed the Recovery Act to be

unconstitutional, began to move uneasily. Mr. Richberg's speeches on this line gave support to the charge made by the President's opponents, that the Administration was bent upon a policy which was destructive of individual liberties and of the constitutional form of government.

Before his term ends, the President will need a number of assistant pilots, and these pilots in turn will need not only good will but ability. For his own sake, and for the sake of the country, we trust that in all his appointments the President will be happier than in many of those he has made in the last two years.

Note and Comment

What Is A Pioneer?

WHEN we want to know something about Alaska we usually ask Father Bernard Hubbard, S.J. So when the papers talked about the brave pioneers from Minnesota who were shipped by a benevolent Government to the Matanuska Valley, we wanted to know all about it. Father Hubbard sniffed a bit about the hardships they would have to undergo. "If they are good enough for the country," he said, "the country is good enough for them. It is not as cold as and it is more fertile than the country they came from. It is well forested, and they can dig coal in their back yards. Each family is being advanced the equivalent of \$5,000—a tidy help for any pioneer. Railroad, travel, living facilities are as good as any they left behind, and in fact were prepared for them in advance." Father Hubbard thought there was too much publicity being given the whole project. He would not call their settlement either pioneering or experimenting, for these stages of agricultural development were long ago satisfactorily solved by the early Jesuit missionaries. In fact, he reminded us, Holy Cross Mission, a much less attractive place than the Matanuska Valley, has, without any publicity or Government help at all, maintained the farthest North and the farthest West complete dairy and produce farm in the United States possessions of the New World for the past thirty years. It is not the first time, we reflected, that a pioneer or explorer has found the missionaries there ahead of him, when he thought he was the first that ever burst, etc.

Starving The Mare

THE ancient parable about the farmer who scientifically reduced his mare's feed until the experiment was spoiled by the animal's demise by starvation may be paralleled by the boosters of the Soviet regime if they continue to reduce the margin of blessed consistency. Soviet Russia was to be the one place in the wide world where inconsistency, contradiction between theory and practice, was ruthlessly thrown to the winds. But the impression becomes lean and vague as one by one Russia suddenly scraps her special prerogatives, under the oddities of the Stalin regime. Down with nationalism, patriotism, and

such bourgeois lies! Yet today the glory of the native land, the *rodina*, is what the Red Army is asked to die for. The hundreds of thousands of wretched youthful waifs, diseased in body and soul, who have plagued the land since the Revolution, were to be wisely and mercifully rehabilitated. Now they are to be shot as criminals at twelve years old and over. Modern "progressive" methods in education, once heralded by pro-Soviet enthusiasts, have been rudely scrapped. That private morals never obtruded into public life was the boast of the Bolsheviki against the Nazi scandals. Yet veteran Bolshevik Yenukidze, companion of Lenin and Kalinin, is expelled from the fold for his alleged immoral life. The famous Society of the Old Bolsheviki is dissolved, without any assigned reason. Foreign munition makers are the very poison of capitalistic tyranny; yet A. P. Rosengolts, Foreign Trade Commissar, strikes a proud bargain in Czechoslovakia "with such world-famous concerns as Vitkovitsky and Skoda." The workman was to be amply recompensed; yet, says Harold Denny, in the *New York Times*, every kopeck of his wages is used up by expenses. A congress of propagandists might decide just what selling points are to be maintained.

No More Plus Fours

NOT the garment, but the number of children in the family. Says Frederick Osborn, writing in *June Scribner's*: "Our country is at a critical period." A declining birthrate has fastened itself upon us, and "it is not chiefly the decrease in childless or one-child families which has caused the decline in births, but the decreased number of families with five or more children." The less-than-four families vary only moderately from State to State; but there are wide variations in the plus-fours:

Among native whites in North Carolina, average number of children in completed families is forty-one per cent above the number required to replace the population of the State in each generation. In California [where family limitation is most widespread] the corresponding figure is thirty-two below the number required, or sixty-eight per cent of replacement, less than half the rate of North Carolina.

To save the country from extinction, some—say twenty per cent—of the urban families must prepare themselves to raise at least six children. There must be developed a "new and aroused social morality." But how? How accomplish this without treading on the toes of the birth-control fanatics? Thumbs are down among the intelligentsia against plus-four families. The call for increased birthrate in European nations is ridiculed by them as so much self-aggrandizement and appeals for "cannon fodder." Are we to have two sets of values: one for the heroic twenty per cent; the other for the happy, enlightened multitude? This is the dilemma created by those who toil night and day to remove all obstacles from those practices which of themselves tend to extinction.

The Ideal Newspaper

OUR readers may have seen the new monthly, *Column Review*, which, according to *Editor and Publisher*, is edited along the lines of *Readers Digest*, by and about

newspaper columnists. It contained recently a symposium on "What Constitutes the Ideal Newspaper?" And here is what Stanley Walker had to say: "The ideal newspaper for my own personal purposes would have the gist of the Associated Press reports very much trimmed down. It would be a standard-size paper, with no pictures except those of a very unusual and significant nature. Its news would be segregated or departmentalized somewhat after the fashion of *Time* magazine. It would, above everything else, be full of personalities, and personalities would be emphasized not only in the local news, but in foreign and national. Advertisers would have to pay such a high rate, say five dollars a line, that we would have no ads whatever except amusement, steamship, resort, hotel, and specialty-shop ads. We would have no editorial page, but a page with one or two signed articles by recognized experts. The rest of the page would be devoted to letters to the editor. . . . The obituaries would be practically libelous, extremely realistic, and concerning only those who had some zip to them. . . . We would ignore all sports except baseball and prizefights." Mr. Walker, it is to be hoped, will have a chance to put his interesting theories into practice. He has just been shifted from the *Daily Mirror* to a new job as day news editor on the *American*. We shall watch with interest to see whether anything happens to the *American's* editorial page and its plethora of pictures.

Educators and The Movies

ARE educators and clergymen giving to the motion picture the scientific attention that it should have? This is the question raised, and answered, by Father Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., Rector of the Sacred Heart University in Milan. In an interview with a writer for *Interciné*, organ of the film agency of the League of Nations, Father Gemelli told of the interesting work he is doing in his laboratory (he is one of the great psychologists of Europe) in studying sound by representing it in terms of light, or, as he calls it, the "electro-acoustic analysis of language." He hopes for profound results from these experiments, which have attracted wide interest in Germany and America. Asked about the cinema as a social influence, he answered: "I would go so far as to say that the various censorship and control boards, existing in different countries, whose work is certainly beneficent, will never settle the problem. . . . It is a mistake to bother excessively about those pictures which grossly offend the rules laid down by morality and law." He finds rather that the danger lies in "those films in which ethical problems produce grave and widespread consequences owing to the effect of a subtle and insidious art suggestion covered with veils such as film directors know well how to produce." He holds that "there is no other means which can approach its influence for making the spectator accept something without being aware of it." He ended with the exhortation to all educationists "to keep themselves up to date with current film production and a discussion of its problems. If they fail to do this,

they remain fatally in the dark regarding a most important aspect of life and the mentality of the new generations." This is obviously a task for the research departments of our universities. The purely negative work of the Legion of Decency will have its effect only so long as the popular enthusiasm for it lasts. A careful study of all the factors involved, along the lines of Father Gemelli's suggestions, will solve the problem.

Parade Of Events

PARADOXES, uprushes of honesty featured the week. . . . While Senator Copeland delivered a lecture on crime prevention, pickpockets moved through the audience lifting purses. . . . At a meeting of physicians in France to discuss poisons, one hundred doctors were poisoned by the banquet. . . . In Switzerland, several undertakers were buried by an avalanche. . . . Driven almost to despair by a pear, an Ohio woman sent a dime to the owner, saying: "Twenty years ago I stole your pear. Nothing is on my conscience except the little pear." . . . Conscience-stricken over a street-car ride stolen back in 1905, a Far West resident mailed a dime in payment. They rang up one fare and sent him a nickel change. . . . New techniques burgeoned among professional men. A doctor in Russia announced he was using corkscrews in surgical operations, while a Boston dentist started tying patients in the chair to prevent wrecking of his office. . . . The objection to Alabama Pitts' playing baseball because he was a robber would be appropriately solved, it was suggested, by making him an umpire. . . . New threats to peace appeared. . . . A warlike exhibition of 80,000 tin soldiers was staged in Paris by tin-soldier lovers. . . . Lincoln seemed to control a clear majority at the Republican Grass Roots meeting. The convention approved his stand on slavery and came out for the Constitution. Another Democratic landslide would mean the end of our hitherto Republican form of government, it was feared. . . . A volcano in the Orient and Herbert Hoover became active. Mr. Hoover's attitude toward liberty and the pursuit of happiness was favorable, it was said. It was believed he would later come out also for good government.

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The Devil's Tenebrae

JOHN A. TOOMEY, S.J.

THE rich symbolism of the Holy Week Tenebrae service captures the inner spirit of Calvary's tragedy. As the ritual proceeds and the acolyte extinguishes candle after candle, the dominion of Darkness creeps on and on, the realm of Light appears to fade out from the world. Imagine another Tenebrae, one that is not symbolic but desperately real; a Tenebrae stretching through long centuries and including most of the human race in its congregation. Picture the lights gasping, dying, one by one, blotted out by an unseen hand, century after century. In imagining that, one would be imagining something that has been actually happening all over the world for hundreds of years; for a gigantic Tenebrae has been in process for five centuries and an invisible Force has been extinguishing the lights on our planet, one by one, century upon century; the lights, not of tiny candles, but of the great Christian Truths whose radiance once flooded the darkness of human life on earth.

The lights are now out or nearly out. The present generation came in at the very end of the service. To one small group outside the Catholic Church a few sickly flickers are still visible. To the great teeming millions outside the Church the lights are all out. Terrible though the reflection be, it is nevertheless dismally true that in this year of grace, 1935, an enormous majority of the human race is completely shrouded in the murky gloom of the Devil's Tenebrae.

Hear the strange choir, the weird psalms at the centuries-long service. "Matter is the mother of all the living." "Man is the king, the sun, the harmony, the end of all things." "Leave us to our instincts and our joy." "Nothing natural can be wrong." "Man is everything." "Man is his own end, he is made for himself." "The private vices are public benefits." "Let us hasten the reign of atheism. Man is only a highly cultivated brute made for one thing—the pleasure of his senses. When nature has a free rein and the theologians no longer torment us then we will be happy." "Nothing but nature exists. All else is the creature of the imagination." The antiphons rise ceaselessly on the air of the rushing years. "There is no infallible Church. Christ is a myth. There is no heaven, there is no hell, there is no God." Down into modern time the hoarse hubbub grows louder and louder.

See the lights growing dimmer, fading out, century after century, as the massed voices thunder. That brilliant beam lighting up to men's vision the supernatural life—an invisible Force seems hovering over it; the light is struggling, gasping, dying. The knowledge of Christ's Mystical Body, of His Incarnation and Atonement, of His Blessed Mother—the lights are going out. One by one, inexorably. The nature of God, the Divinity of Christ, the very existence of God, the Sacraments, the destiny of man—out they go. All over the world the

darkness is increasing. The service is nearing the end.

It is difficult to determine with precision just when the Devil's Tenebrae started. It may be contended with plausibility that it commenced with the breaking off of the Greek Church, with Arianism, and the early heresies. It appears likelier, however, that these were but dress rehearsals and that the Satanic liturgy only began functioning with decisive efficiency at the collapse of the Middle Ages. Then the lights commenced to droop and die, as moral dust storms swirled up and covered the face of Europe and the world with spiritual night. Then it was that paganism began recovering from its stupor.

Paganism, after a fierce, life-and-death struggle with Christianity, had been beaten into insensibility and left for dead somewhere in the early morn of the fifth century. For a thousand eventful years it lay stunned while Christianity reared a new and majestic civilization. But paganism was by no means dead. It stirred, sat up, and gazed with bulging eyes at the Christian commonwealth so strange to its heathen mind. Stumbling to its feet, thirsting for revenge, it loosed an insidious, far-flung assault on Christianity which is enduring to this day.

In the Middle Ages, God was the very center, the source of all reality; man and nature were creatures, subordinate and dependent. This concept motivated every phase of medieval life and culture. The newly risen race of pagans could not accept any such basic concept, for Paganism, reduced to its ultimate elements, is nothing but human nature in the raw, stripped of grace, running on its own power, chafing at control or submission. It was imperative that a new concept should be forged, one that would interpret the pagan world view and one that would incidentally cast a benign eye on pagan morals. It was accordingly manufactured, and very simply. The medieval concept was merely reversed. Man and nature became the center and the source of all things, as the new pagans, in a coup d'état staged in their own imaginations, lowered God from His throne and hoisted man and nature upon it. The immoderate exaltation of man and nature came splashing down the centuries, metamorphosing life and society. It entered into the arts, into literature; it became the dominating factor in practically all the philosophical systems of modern times; it motivated most of the social and political movements; it colored scientific research. It shaped the modern world.

And all the while the lights were going out. Knowledge of the supernatural, of Christ's Mystical Body, of His Blessed Mother, of heaven, of hell, of the destiny of man; all the most important things in life slipped gradually out of the minds of millions upon millions. Strangely, there was a long twilight after the sun had set. It is amazing how difficult some of the lights were to put out, many of the Catholic concepts lingering on outside the Church for centuries after smashing attacks on Christendom began.

That is the reason the crisis now confronting the world did not emerge sooner. It is only in modern times, for example, that the Catholic doctrine on the indissolubility of marriage has been generally discarded. The first divorce in England created a national scandal and it was long years before the breaking up of homes became the routine practice it is today. The proclamation calling for days of national fast, humiliation and prayer to God issued by Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln were saturated with Catholic principles and read like pastorals of Catholic Bishops. They were written only seventy years ago. It is difficult to imagine President Roosevelt or Congress calling for anything like that today. The Virgin Birth, the miracles of Christ, the inspiration of the Bible, the Divinity of Christ—it took almost four centuries to drive them out of the minds of men. But now, outside the Catholic Church, they are pretty well gone.

That is the trouble with our world today. The lights are out. Our present ills derive from the Devil's Tenebrae. The frightful irreligion; the dissolution of family life; the prevalence of crime; the glaring social injustices; the collapse of morals; the prostration of education; the curious notions of man's dependence upon the state and the brutal tyrannies resulting therefrom; the snarling attitude of the nations; the unsettled state of men's souls; the dark, uncertain future; these and many other symptoms of a diseased world flow from the Satanic Tenebrae.

When Catholic principles ruled society undisputed there was some wretchedness and misery, but nothing comparable to what obtains today. And Catholic dogmas never had sufficient time to finish their work. A wilful humanity fresh from centuries of paganism and barbarism was being softened and changed when the patient threw the doctor out the window. Had the process continued uninterrupted down into modern times, our world today, while remaining still a place of trial, would seem like paradise compared to the present impasse.

It is not merely that Catholicism is somewhat preferable to other solutions of the world disease. It is far more than that. Catholicism is the only solution. There is no other. Communism will push mankind further into the morass. Of its very nature, it cannot long endure. Already in Russia a slave state has succeeded it. Protestantism at the height of its power was only as strong as the Catholic concepts it had taken along in running out of the Mother Church. It has now lost most of these and is a spent force. Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Shintoism, and all the other isms are man-made things, too, without inherent power. There is in the world only one institution which can save it. "The only remedy," as Karl Adam says, "is a new life in the Holy Ghost, a return of all of us to the paradox of the supernatural, a determined assent to the poor, crucified Jesus. That is the road to the rebirth of the West; there is no other way." And the rebirth of the West means the rebirth of the world. To make the world safe for humanity, humanity must be changed, and the only way humanity can be changed is by God's way. God's way is the Catholic Church. There are not three ways, or two ways. There is one way.

The world today, paradoxical as it may sound, is actually hungering for Catholic dogma. Heartsore, desperate, faced with crushing problems, man is yearning for the truth. He is weary of the preposterous solutions of life and human destiny furnished so prodigally by biologists, physicists, chemists, mathematicians and inventors. He wants the Truth, and, therefore, though he does not know it, he wants Catholic dogma. This fact is strikingly shown in England where throngs of English pagans listen with rapt attention for hours on end to speakers of the Catholic Evidence League unraveling such themes as the beatific vision, the supernatural life, the nature of God. These concepts are as startlingly new to them as they were to the pagans who listened to St. Peter in Rome. There are many millions of pagans in the United States who would be tremendously impressed if they could once glimpse the real Catholic Church. In an effort to aid in the wide dissemination of Catholic principles among American pagans, this article will be followed by others on Catholic dogma.

The world around us is changing. A worm-eaten civilization is crashing to the ground about our ears and already faintly discernible are the lineaments of that new order which will soon cover the face of the earth. Those first outlines are distinctly pagan. Centuries ago, Catholic dogma stepped out of the catacombs, metamorphosed a pagan world and altered the course of history. Catholic dogma has the power to transform the embryonic pagan civilization that is growing beneath our eyes and thus to color the history of the next thousand years. It simply must do it, if the world is to be saved. To Catholics living today the torch is flung. They must set our little planet ablaze once more with the lights that were put out in the Devil's Tenebrae.

Angela Merici, Founder in Modern Education

JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

IN "The Renaissance," Walter Pater, the distinguished English literary man of the last generation, said:

There come from time to time eras of more favorable conditions in which the thoughts of men are drawn nearer together than is their wont and the many interests of the intellectual world combine in one complete type of general culture. The fifteenth century is one of these happier eras, and what is sometimes said of the age of Pericles is true of that of Lorenzo (de' Medici)—it is an age productive of personalities, many sided, centralized, complete. Here artists and philosophers and those whom the action of the world has elevated and made keen do not live in isolation but breathe the common air and catch light and heat from each other's thoughts.

We are accustomed to think almost exclusively of the great artists of the Renaissance but it must not be forgotten that this was a period of magnificent development in education and that some of the educators of this period have achieved a fame that makes their names forever immortal in the history of education. Education flourished quite as did the arts. Schools were founded which took up the classics, Latin and Greek, as the basis of teaching, and a great wave of the spirit of scholarship went over

Europe. Not only the men but the women, also, were caught up in this wave of education.

Two great modern founders in education, Ignatius Loyola, the organizer of the Jesuits, and Angela Merici, who organized the Ursulines, were the product of the intense intellectual life which blossomed so luxuriantly about this time. Heretofore it had been almost the universal custom that Religious communities should take their founders' names, as is so well illustrated in the Franciscans and Dominicans, but neither Ignatius nor Angela wanted any such distinction. Ignatius broke the rule and preferred to call his community the Little Company of Jesus, while Angela Merici asked her daughters not to give her name to the institute but instead to take the name of St. Ursula, that valiant leader of women whose name was oftenest in the mouths of those who cultivated the folklore of the saints.

When Ignatius went to Rome and presented his little group of seven students from the University of Paris who were to be organized into a Religious Order, Pope Paul III was convinced that there were too many Religious Orders in existence already and was intent on lessening their number, but he was so much impressed by the plans sketched for his Order by Ignatius that he did not hesitate to declare, "The finger of God is here."

In the early years of his spiritual life Ignatius had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in order to draw inspiration for what he should make of his life in the places where the Lord Himself had trodden. In the same way Angela Merici had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. While there her meditations brought to her the realization of her life's work. The following year her institute was definitely founded in a small house near the church of St. Afra in Brescia.

While she was in Rome on her way back from the pilgrimage undertaken for the purpose of making the jubilee of the year 1525, Pope Clement VII, who had heard of her reputation for holiness and her extraordinary success as a religious teacher of young girls, invited her to remain in Rome and to continue her educational work there. She preferred, however, to do her work in the comparative obscurity of the town of Brescia and to organize her institute where there would be fewer distractions both for students and teachers than within the capital of the Christian world. She herself was a model in every way for the Sisterhood which she established, and 400 years later they continued to find the greatest inspiration for their work in the example set by her.

Angela Merici was engaged in the same decade of the sixteenth century in organizing a group of women who were destined to do for the girls of that time what the Jesuits were to do for boys in the matter of education. When her intentions were presented to the Pope he was very similarly impressed as he had been with regard to the Jesuit Constitutions. When he gave his approval to Angela Merici's foundation he said to the General of the Jesuits: "We have given you sisters." With fullest Papal approval, Angela on November 25 (St. Catherine's day) had gathered a few women around and began her

work of sending these women out to teach young girls. That was in 1535, and this year, 1935, marks the fourth centenary of Angela Merici's foundation.

In the midst of her work it is an almost never-ending source of surprise to see what a reputation for sanctity and charity Angela acquired, and as a consequence how people of all classes came to offer spontaneously their help in the good work that she had undertaken. She had to refuse an invitation from the city council of Venice to take up her abode there and assume the direction of all the public charitable institutions of the republic. Charity had a great interest for her, but now she was intent on education as a means of preventing the necessity for charity and so she refused to accept the very complimentary proposal made by the Venetians.

The offer from Venice to take complete charge of their charitable institutions, a position which involved immense responsibility, was not the only one of its kind which had come to her. The Duke of Milan sent a message to her asking her to come to his court because he wished to offer her the directorship of all the poor relief in the city. She did not wish to tie herself down to one place in this way.

It is no wonder under the circumstances that Angela won the hearts of all those who were brought in contact with her. The Ursulines have spread very much as the Jesuits, proving wonderful auxiliaries to the Jesuit missionaries in many parts of the world. Not long after the middle of the sixteenth century the Ursulines had houses in all the Catholic countries of Europe and then began to spread overseas to establish themselves particularly in the Latin American countries. Nearly everywhere that missionaries succeeded in founding churches the Ursulines followed them zealously to give Christian instruction and suitable education for the growing young girls of the flock.

When the modern blackrobe, Father De Smet, founded his Indian missions in the Rocky Mountains of the Northwest, he went to Europe to secure some Ursulines to teach the women and the girls, for they meant much for the development of the religious spirit among the Indians. The little band of Ursulines accompanied by Father De Smet had to take a sailing vessel around Cape Horn for a voyage that lasted many months in order to land somewhere near their young proteges in the mountains and be spared the hardships of an overland journey of 3,000 miles across continent, most of it through uninhabited wilderness.

The striking exemplar of the Ursulines' work on this continent is to be found in the person of Mother Of the Incarnation who came to Quebec in 1639 and must undoubtedly be looked upon as the most distinguished woman in the early history of the continent. Her life has been written within these few years by Agnes Repplier, our charming American essayist and biographer, but no less than half a dozen accounts of her work and the magnificent career which she carved for herself have been written during this twentieth century. The Ursulines established a house in New Orleans more than two centuries ago (1727) but they also established a house at

Charlestown near Boston just about a hundred years ago, though that was burned down by a bigoted mob which came out from Boston shortly after its foundation (August 11, 1834).

Like the Jesuits, these nuns have been the subjects nearly everywhere throughout the world of persecutions. The founder of the Society of Jesus prayed that his sons might be the subject of persecution and his prayer was undoubtedly heard. After reviewing their history one feels also that the foundress of the Ursulines must have prayed to the same purpose as the founder of the Jesuits.

When persecutions came the Ursulines were, as a rule, picked out as an object of special enmity by those who sought to work as great harm as possible to the Church. During the French Revolution they were the special butt of the intolerance of the newly founded French Republic and gave many martyrs to the cause of religion, especially toward the end of 1794. When the Kulturkampf developed in Germany they were as specifically selected for banishment as the Jesuits, and indeed they have nearly always shared the fate of the Jesuits in times of trial.

They have not been without special distinction through persecution even here in America. Their convent, as

we have said, was burned down in Charlestown, Mass., during the bitter wave of feeling against the Religious Orders that had been aroused among Protestants. Their house was the very center of danger in the "Know-Nothing riots" in Philadelphia some twenty years later. Today four centuries after their foundation the institute is still actively alive and doing its work, educating girls and young women in every part of the world. They have houses in nearly every country in Europe. There are schools and colleges for young women in many States in the Union and in parts of Canada. Ursulines are to be found in distant Alaska teaching within the Arctic Circle. There are Ursulines under the equator in Brazil as in Africa and in the South Seas.

Angela Merici, although almost unknown outside of the Catholic Church, thanks to her humility, was one of the very great women of the Renaissance. Probably no woman of the time, not even St. Teresa of Spain, has had such influence over succeeding generations as the modest, retiring Saint of Brescia. For 400 years the Order of religious teachers which Angela Merici founded has continued without interruption or deviation the work she gave them to do.

No Sadness of Farewell

GERARD B. DONNELLY, S.J.

LAST September, Clay Morgan, publicity man for the French Lines in New York, sat down at his typewriter and knocked out his first story about the company's new ship. He hoped the papers would take this story, together with the others he planned on sending later. But what with the country's editors interested just then in Dillinger, Lady Ashley, a ragged market, and the textile strike, and not at all in a publicity man's ideas about ocean travel, Morgan had a hard campaign ahead, and he knew it. His hopes ran high, though, and his ambitions higher. But even in his brightest moments he did not suspect that his press releases were destined to crack the press wide open, create a near-national hysteria, and give New York its merriest day since Lindbergh came back from Paris.

"With 3,000 men at work on her," he wrote, "the world's biggest ship is nearing completion. She has just been christened the Normandie..." And he went on to write of the liner's maiden voyage to the States. Within the hour his copy had been mimeographed and hopefully mailed out, together with a polite note, to 150 key newspapers.

Three days later Morgan got a shock. The morning's mail brought him an envelope from a journal in Iowa. It contained not only his own mimeograph but also a brief editorial comment scrawled in green ink across the page. "Fooy on this junk," it read succinctly; "do you think that just because we live out here where the tall corn grows we are saps enough to give free advertising to your damned frog ship? Can it!"

But, as it turned out, this missive from Iowa was the only rejection. Within the week it became apparent that despite the Sinclair election, Mr. Hoover's brave articles in the *Post*, and the mounting talk of inflation, all the other newspapers had found space for the story. It was frank publicity, yes; but it was fresh, something new, and it had an appeal.

Some time later these same dailies ran his second release, then his third, and his fourth. One or two journals wrote in that this was pretty good stuff and were there any pictures? When Morgan's fifth flimsy went out, two of the big press services picked it up and wired it to subscribing newspapers. This was most encouraging. It meant a huge coverage. It meant, too, that his copy was taking on the stature of news—national news at that. A syndicated columnist, moreover, had mentioned the Normandie; and there were several editorials on Franco-American good will. By mid-winter, Morgan felt that maybe five or six million people had heard his ship's name or seen her photographs.

With so many readers interested, his problem now was to keep that interest alive, to heighten it, and to extend it to others. Morgan stuck at his typewriter. But early in March he dropped around to see the radio commentators and the newsreel people. Here, he suggested, was news that they were missing; the press was giving it a play, and readers all over the country were lapping it up. Why not a good notice on the ether? What about a few shots on the screen?

It sounded like a good idea, and his hosts took action.

As a result, in early April, as the liner was being groomed for her trial run, the radio fans of the country heard a number of rapid-fire stories about the bigness of the ship, her luxury, her speed, and filmgoers got their first view of her in a series of gorgeous camera shots from the air. Later, Morgan carefully picked out the best of these pictures and sent them out, as stills, to the rotogravures. Nearly all of them were published.

Immediately there was a tremendous jump in public interest, definitely measurable by the number of phone calls and visitors to the office, and by the sudden and startling increase in the daily mail. Remarkably enough, a lot of the letters came from the mid-West and the deep South—from persons, that is, who had probably never seen a sizeable lake or river, let alone the ocean or a sea-going ship. And everybody asked information: When would she sail? How many passengers could she carry? What was her top speed?

Morgan hired a couple of clerks to answer these questions and returned to his typewriter. It was May now, and an increasing number of newspapers were yelling for more stories, data, photographs, and names. He bought a bale of paper and a half-barrel of mimeograph ink, and out from his office there began to flow a daily stream of stories about the vessel's elevators, her cuisine, her engines, shooting gallery, dog kennels, shops, theater, and sports deck. The press wolfed all this greedily, and clamored for more. Morgan began to work nights.

But on the day previous to the ship's test run, he found his job suddenly snatched out of his hands. Orders went out that day from the big news agencies to their foreign correspondents to cover the Normandie and to cable the story. And next morning the liner was first-page news from coast to coast. Pictures were radioed; Lowell Thomases crowded the air, and the news-reel boys, up in their planes as usual, were on the job. Here was a publicity man's dream come true.

All this resulted in a generous quota of collateral advertising, which—the reader will be glad to learn—is heaven's choicest gift to the pious press agent. One of the leading soap makers for instance started a national contest, with a round trip on the Normandie offered as the prize. He plugged the contest, his soap, and the glories of the liner in an expensive radio campaign. A parfumeur invented a new scent, named it Normandie, bottled it in a glass replica of the vessel, and advertised the ship as well as his perfume in a hundred magazines. In the shops of the forty-eight States there suddenly appeared brand new styles of merchandise—Normandie berets, Normandie luggage, Normandie sandals, belts, cocktails, and coiffures. The thing spread to the notion shops; their counters sagged under the weight of bronze miniatures to be used as paper weights, ash trays, door stops, and inkwells.

All this, of course, was velvet for Morgan. It was just at this time, however, that he gathered together a group of thirty newspaper men and embarked for Havre, so as to board his ship on her maiden trip. Coincident with his arrival, the news dispatches from St. Nazaire suddenly

assumed a fresh vigor and interest. New morsels seemed to be confected daily for the avid readers in the States. It appeared, for instance, that Mme. LeBrun would visit the White House and Hyde Park. Collette, the Fannie Hurst of France, had booked a passage. A boy, picked by the youth of France as ambassador to the youth of America, would visit Al Smith, clang the opening gong in the Stock Exchange, interview Boy Scout leaders. A bevy of Parisian beauties would likewise make the trip, bringing the latest Paris styles to Park Avenue. The cities of old France were shipping wines, tapestries, statuettes, boxes of sacred earth, to their sister cities across the Atlantic.

From all this it may be seen that over in La Belle France our hero was stirring up news of notable import with the same vigor with which he had stirred it up in Radio City. And once more the press surrendered to his genius, and threw open its columns to the daily output.

It would be unjust, of course, to accuse Mr. Morgan of engineering the French sailors' strike or of causing the gold run on the Bank of France. Both of these events were possibly beyond his powers. Nevertheless they were turned into grist for his mill, and the Normandie's name got into all the stories. True, Mr. Morgan arranged for no circus midget to sit in the captain's lap as the liner weighed anchor. But this seemed to be about the only trick he missed. Under his inspired handling, there was to be nothing of the twilight-and-evening-star spirit when the Normandie crossed the bar and put out to sea.

Meanwhile, back in Manhattan, Mr. Eddie Knight, filled with his boss's spirit but with a few palpitating ideas of his own, made a series of calls along Fifth Avenue. His efforts were rewarded with what was undoubtedly the most amazing feature in this whole gorgeous saga of town crying, modern style. For shortly after his visit the Avenue suffered a sea change and metamorphosed itself into a five-mile ad for the Normandie. In the thousand windows, all the way from Bergdorf-Goodman's down to Hearn's, there appeared the paraphernalia of the sea—binnacles, stanchions, funnels, steering wheels, spars, ropes, belaying pins, and life buoys. And against this nautical scenery, the shops put their choicest wares on view—evening gowns for Madame to wear in the Normandie salons, sport clothes for the Normandie's deck games, furs and cloaks for those chilly evenings on deck, fine liqueurs for stateroom parties, diaries and Kodaks for the voyageur, luggage for Normandie honeymooners, cosmetics, candies, flowers, and flasks. And into every window, along with the merchandise, there went a large picture or a four-foot model of Mr. Morgan's pet ship. The tricolor fluttered over the pavements, the Avenue had turned into a publicist's paradise.

The vessel sounded her whistle on Thursday morning and headed out to sea. Almost immediately Mr. Morgan's group of hand-picked journalists got down to work, and the ship's radio began to buzz with bulletins. During the crossing an average of 15,000 words a day was radioed to New York. It was model copy. Morning and evening papers the country over were glad to feature it.

It roused the population to a notable fever of expectation.

There was a long delay on Monday forenoon as the vessel stopped at Quarantine. But this only served in aid of Morgan's last and greatest scheme. He had hired a plane, by name the Voice of the Sky, and equipped with a loud speaker as deafening as the roll of thunder. This flying megaphone took the air and for a full hour soared over the Jersey towns, Staten Island, Brooklyn, and Manhattan from the Battery to Times Square. "Go to the river," the tremendous voice thundered; "Go to the river. The Normandie is coming in!" The thing sounded like God's voice on Judgment Day, and the sinful city hastened to obey.

Within half an hour the shores were lined with an estimated 2,000,000 people. Sightseers crowded the Bay Ridge hills. Weehawken, Hoboken, Jersey City and Bayonne turned out *en masse*. Battery Park was packed. Office workers in all the Manhattan skyscrapers dashed to the windows. Atop the Empire State and other tall buildings were capacity crowds.

And they all saw a sight worth looking at. Up the bay came Mr. Morgan's boat. Circling high over her plume of black smoke were twenty planes, three gyros, and a blimp. Down in the water, before, behind, and around her was what seemed at the moment to be the

entire shipping of the Port—excursion vessels, ferries, the Mayor's steamer, the press boat, thirty private yachts, some Government cutters, Chief McElligott's fire boats, a score of tugs, and innumerable barges, rowboats, and canoes.

I called on Morgan last week. His office floor was piled high with Monday's newspapers. The *Sun* had splurged to the extent of three pages, including page one. The *World Telegram* handled the ship's arrival as something bigger than the shooting of Roosevelt. The tabloids dealt with it in headlines worthy of the Second Coming. The *Journal* put out eight editions. Dozens of outside-the-city papers had made it front-page news.

Clay Morgan, it turns out, is a modest fellow. He does not know yet, he confessed, whether it was his efforts that stirred up the tremendous reaction, or whether it was the public's interest that demanded the unparalleled coverage.

I am sure it was the former. Bigger ships have been breaking previous records for a century. The thing is an almost yearly event. When the Normandie bettered the time of the Rex and the Europa by two or three hours, that is interesting. But it is not eschatological news.

It was Morgan that made it seem so. He did it with his little mimeograph.

Sociology

The Control of Business by Congress

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

THAT some control of production and distribution must be exercised by the civil authority, is generally admitted. Differences arise only as to the extent of that control. The regulation which exists in the United States in 1935 is, substantially, that which was authorized by a Constitution drawn up at the close of the eighteenth century, and by the Constitutions of the several States. Under this system, the Federal Government is limited in its control to inter-State commerce, and to commerce within the States which directly and substantially affects it. Over the operations of mining, agriculture, manufacturing, or commerce within any State, it has no direct, and not much indirect, authority.

The situation is not satisfactory, for law must be responsive to public needs, and the prevailing system leaves too many sore needs without a legal remedy. Hence it is argued that the problems arising both out of the vast expansion of commerce in the last 150 years, and out of the changed conditions in which we now live, cannot be solved by legislation under the old constitutional restrictions. Commerce has transcended State lines, and is national in character. Its control, then, must be based either on powers in the Constitution, if any such exist, even if almost atrophied from disuse; or on grants to the Federal Government through an Amendment adding to the powers ceded by the States in 1789.

With the Supreme Court of the United States, we "in no way disparage" the efforts of the present Administration in behalf of economic and industrial reform. It will be sufficient to observe, with the Court, that these efforts were not "consistent with the authority granted by the Constitution." But the Constitution itself offers two methods by which, conceivably, all the objectives of the Administration might be attained.

1. The first of these methods is found in compacts between the States, with the consent of Congress, as provided in Section 10 of Article I. This power has been so little used that, as Representative McCormack, of Massachusetts, remarked on introducing his resolution on June 3, "the principle will open an entirely new legislative field." Secretary of Labor Perkins has requested the President to consider ways and means of protecting those States which desire to make compacts for the establishment of fair labor practices, and on June 5 in his letter to Henry Parkman, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, the President expressed his interest in the work of the Inter-State Conference on Labor Compacts. "I am directing that a study be made of the proposals made in your resolutions," wrote the President, "and that I shall be kept in touch with any further work of the Conference." The proposals were also put before the annual Conference of Governors at Biloxi, Miss., on June 16,

and were considered by the Inter-State Compacts Commission at its meeting at Spring Lake, N. J., on June 19.

The purpose of such compacts would be furthered by legislation in the several States, establishing minimum industrial standards. The first of these compacts was made between Maryland and Virginia, under the old Confederation, for the establishment of boundary and water rights, and was confirmed under the Constitution, with the exception of those provisions which fell to the control of the Federal Government. But as Representative McCormack points out, the compact system need not be restricted to boundaries and water rights. "It can be applied on a broader scale, and be extended to labor questions."

Probably a common program could be established were the President to invite the Governors of all the States to meet him in conference. The chief drawback to this plan, I fear, would be the unwillingness of those States in which profits are shored up by unfair practices to agree upon standards in keeping with the dictates of justice, charity, and common sense.

2. The second method of economic and industrial reform is closely akin in its possible beneficent effects to the compact system, but rests on an entirely different principle. It consists in legislation against unfair trade practices by the several States on the principle of the Webb-Kenyon Act. This legislation, passed in 1913, I think, and later sustained by the Supreme Court, is based on the power of Congress to regulate inter-State commerce. Intended to placate the Prohibitionists, it authorized Congress to control the transportation of alcoholic beverages from a State into any State which forbade its importation and sale. It has always been my opinion that the "wets" were stunned when the Supreme Court affirmed this legislation, or, rather, agreed that the Federal Government was acting within its powers in seizing shipments of whiskey addressed to citizens and corporations in "dry" territory.

Under this method, a State could establish minimum standards of production, and make unlawful the importation of goods produced in any other State under lower standards. Shipments in inter-State commerce would then be checked by the Federal Government. A progressive and enlightened State—held, it must be understood, to its own avowed standards—could protect itself against the flooding of its markets by goods that were low-priced chiefly because they were manufactured or prepared by wage slaves working long hours for insufficient pay.

Obviously, however, legislation of this type calls for the most careful study, if it is to come under the Webb-Kenyon sanction. However, its proponents argue that the chief industrial States could easily be brought to agree on proper legislation. The effect would be a kind of boycott, sustained by Federal legislation, on all goods produced under low-wage and long-hour conditions. Probably the best results would be obtained by a combination of these two methods: compacts between the States, followed by legislation in these States, and at Washington.

3. Finally, there is the method of securing control of production and industry by amending the Federal Constitution.

In its decision of May 27, declaring certain sections of the Recovery Act to be unconstitutional, the Supreme Court passed no judgment on the social value of this legislation. It merely held that good or bad there was no authority for it in the Constitution. The Federal Government had attempted "to determine the wages and hours of employes in the internal commerce of a State." Were this allowed, said the Court very correctly, "all the processes of production and distribution that enter into cost could likewise be controlled." And the Chief Justice added:

If the cost of doing an intra-State business is in itself the permitted object of Federal control, the extent of the regulation of cost would be a question of discretion and not of power.

Taking the regulation condemned by the Supreme Court as the aim of the proposed Federal Amendment, we have a clear and intelligible basis for discussion. In other words, it is proposed to make constitutional through an Amendment what the Court has rightly declared to be unconstitutional.

Another view of the purpose of the Amendment is found in certain sections of Title I of the Recovery Act. These are

(a) To provide for the general welfare by promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups.

(b) To eliminate unfair competitive practices.

(c) To rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources.

Senator Borah protests that this Amendment would give the Federal Government the power to compel the farmer's wife to sell her hen at a price fixed by Congress. It would give that power, I admit, but at the same time would leave the question to the discretion of Congress, and that discretion can be controlled not only by the people at the elections, but also in no small degree by the courts. But for an objective view of Federal control of production and commerce, we must free ourselves from political ties and ambitions, and clear our minds of cant and bias. Would the proposed Amendment destroy the Constitution?

No, for the essence of the Constitution would remain unchanged. The Constitution would still provide for a twofold form of government, State and Federal, with the Federal Government's three coordinate branches, legislative, executive, and judicial. In its substantial guarantees the Tenth Amendment would remain untouched. The question is not whether the Federal Government shall invade the States to usurp their reserved powers. The issue is, simply, whether the people of the several States shall concede to the Federal Government, through a new grant freely made by them and revocable by them, larger powers over commerce and all that commerce implies. It is not proposed to establish "tyranny" by means of force, or to set up a government by a kind of de-Italianized Fascism, or by a Hitlerism purged of its anti-religious mania. The whole process is simply the exercise by the people of their right to augment or to decrease

the powers to be exercised by the Federal Government for the common good.

That the powers to be so conceded are novel, that they bring the Federal Government into a field from which the several States have thus far excluded it, that they can be misused, are facts which no one will be at pains to deny. But the same facts faced our fathers at Philadelphia in 1787. The powers then granted the general government were novel, and they were powers which brought the government into fields until then jealously reserved to the several States. The framers of the Constitution were not deterred from ceding these powers by their knowledge (and none knew better) that all government is a rendezvous with dangers that must be met, a launching out into perilous seas that must be crossed.

They acted, if with secret misgivings, fearlessly and liberally. Yet they endeavored, successfully, as I believe, to allow no government, State or Federal, unlimited power but, in the words of Jefferson, to bind all by the chains of the Constitution. Still in that very instrument which was a register of checks as well as of grants, they provided a method by which the people, instead of resorting to bullets, might change the Constitution by amending it, and shorten or lengthen the chains, as might seem desirable.

When Senator Borah, then, asks with horror if the price of the hen that the farmer's wife has carried to market is to be fixed by Federal legislation, I am left unmoved. For fixed it will be by some one, somewhere, whom the farmer's wife quite probably has never met. I can conceive that it might be better to have the price fixed by the people, acting through Congress, than to have it fixed through a Wall Street bank acting through an American Foods Corporation. Prices are fixed in this economic age, not by the seller and the prospective purchaser freely entering into a contract, but by a centralized capitalism. That truth holds not only for hens, but for steel, coal, gas, oil, power, the shoes on your children's feet, the bread that goes into their mouths, the roof that covers you and your family. The control now exercised by a capitalistic system must be challenged by a control, actuated by the Government, in the common interest.

We can, then, suffer prices to be fixed by private corporations, or we can take the matter in our own hands, and regulate them by using the powers of the Government. The first method has led, and seems inevitably to lead, to the malign conditions which caused the present depression. True, a certain freedom must be allowed to private initiative and enterprise, but not enough to permit the formation of groups in the body politic which ultimately control not only all commerce, intra-State included, but the Government as well.

The proposed Amendment is not "revolution," and still less is it anarchy. It is but the result of a normal use of a method of change provided by the Constitution itself. In its regulation of production and commerce, eliminating unfair trade practices (which include, be it remembered, cut-throat competition, sweated hours, unhealthy conditions of labor, and starvation wages) it takes

no man's property from him. It will, however, as I fervently hope, recall to his mind his obligation to use his property in a manner which inures to the good of his soul and the welfare of his fellows.

I have seen only one form of the proposed Amendment. Its author is Representative Thomas F. Ford, of California, and I quote it here not as a model of perfection, but as a theme to be examined.

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to regulate hours and conditions of labor, and to establish minimum wages in any employment, and to regulate production, industry, business, trade, and commerce to prevent unfair methods and practices therein.

Section 2. The due process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments shall be construed to impose no limitations upon legislation by the Congress or by the several States with respect to any of the subjects referred to in Section 1, except as to the method or procedure for the enforcement of such legislation.

Section 3. Nothing in this Article shall be construed to impair the regulatory power of the several States with respect to any of the subjects referred to in Section 1, except to the extent that the exercise of such power by a State is in conflict with the legislation enacted by the Congress pursuant to this Article.

The wording of the Amendment must be made with care to exclude all matters not connected with production and commerce. The grant of power is necessarily vast, and must be tempered by plain restrictions.

Meanwhile movements to save the Constitution have sprung up, under political auspices, in various parts of the country. At Springfield, the home of Lincoln and his burial place, a vast convocation of "grass-rooters" was addressed on June 10 by former Governor Lowden whose plea seemed to be that the Constitution must be saved by keeping unchanged its every jot and tittle. It seems sufficient to say that the attainment of the fundamental purposes of a Constitution must, at times, be carried out through changes in the Constitution itself, and among the most important of the aims of the Constitution is "to establish justice," of which social justice is a part.

The powers and the inhibitions proper and sufficient for constitutional government in a simpler day may well be insufficient or even harmful, as I pointed out last week, in this age of complex commercialism. The means of changing the Constitution, should careful consideration counsel change, are provided by the Constitution itself. The system of compacts between the States, or legislation based on the principle of the Webb-Kenyon Act, would seem to provide the first means of relief. We cannot hope to change the Constitution over night, and it would not be well were that possible. But, in my judgment, ultimately an Amendment to the Constitution will be found necessary to control our production and commerce for the common good.

Nearly a century and a half ago, our fathers gathered "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." It is our task to preserve what their wisdom has bequeathed us, not by devotion to the letter which killeth, but by consecration to the spirit which quickeneth. In that work may God enlighten and sustain us.

With Scrip and Staff

A GROWING generation, lapped in unending stream of radio programs—into which Catholics in Great Britain are trying to bring some semblance of reason through their newly formed Catholic Radio Guild—are blissfully unconscious of the harsh interruptions formerly imposed upon the infant radio by the constant breaking in of the wireless code. The Morse code is now relegated to its proper place in the radio world; seldom is heard unwanted, except by short-wave enthusiasts.

The inventor of the code would have been surprised if he could have foreseen its miraculous extension to the wireless. It is still more surprising to learn that something very close to the Morse code was invented by the pagan Irish close to the beginning of the Christian era. A study in *Thought* for June, 1935, by Isidor Hopfner, S.J., of the Ogam alphabet, that odd system used in very ancient Irish inscriptions, leads to this strange conclusion. Says Father Hopfner:

This Morse alphabet or code is a close approximation of the Ogam system. It is founded on the same principles, and has three main characteristics in common with it, not to be found in other alphabets: (1) the letters are represented by dots and strokes; (2) no letter in either system has more than five dots or strokes; (3) the dots represent vowels, and the strokes consonants in Ogam, and it seems that it was originally so in the Morse alphabet, for even at the present day *e* is expressed by one dot and *i* by two dots.

Father Hopfner gives a most ingenious explanation of the curious order of the twenty letters in the Ogam alphabet, as found in old Irish manuscripts: BLVSN HDTCQ MGNgStR AOUEI, and concludes therefrom that the alphabet "was invented by a learned Irish pagan, a native most probably of southwestern Ireland, who came under the cultural influence of Rome while perfecting himself in the study of Druidism in Britain during the Roman occupation of that country." I leave it to the philologists to pass on the validity of the theory.

THE craving for explanation—the eternal "Why?"—cannot be extinguished. It is implanted in the soul of man to lead him back to God after the most illimitable deviations. Nineteenth-century science, or rather scientism, claimed to explain everything by a mechanistic determinism. Atoms and molecules were known with absolute certainty, their conduct could be infallibly predicted, and further explanation of the universe was unnecessary. Yet the fury with which this imagined certainty was proclaimed, the scorn for any shadow of hesitation in accepting its dogmas, betrayed a certain uneasiness of mind.

As every Millikan-fed schoolboy knows, the twentieth century has cast sickly doubts upon this molecular triumph. Speaking at the monthly forum of the Laymen's Union in New York City on May 26, Prof. William M. Agar, of the Department of Geology in Columbia University, recited the three major developments in the supposedly impregnable realm of physical science which have again

raised the age-old question of the ultimate explanation of the universe. Physical science cannot of itself offer this explanation, said Professor Agar, but by the logic of its own inner development it can postulate a necessary question, and lead the thinking mind from the unknown *within* the sphere of science to the brink of the unknown beyond it.

These three developments are the quantum theory, the doctrine of uncertainty or indetermination originated by Heisenberg, and the statistical method of physical science. These have definitely done away with the mechanistic theory of the universe. Their bearing, in this wider sense, was brought out in the recently published proceedings, for 1934, of the foundation "Pour la Science," in Paris, as a result of the deliberations of the Foundation's "International Center for [scientific] Synthesis." While shrinking from the conclusion that with the abandonment of the mechanistic explanation limits must likewise be placed to the more basic idea of scientific determinism, the conferees were frank in their acknowledgment of the revolution that the newer doctrines had brought about. Said H. Mineur, astronomer at the Paris Observatory: "Newton's laws had a harmful extension: the mechanistic doctrine, which made people believe for a time that all natural phenomena could be explained by the movements of material points obeying the laws of dynamics."

By the principle of uncertainty, indetermination appears to inhere in the very essence of things, a bewildering problem for the deterministic physicist, the "pointer-minded" man, as Heisenberg called him. The statistical method, by which the variables that are subject to observation are viewed as functions of minute variables which escape observation, can establish no certainty. In view of all this, why is it unreasonable to find rational, even if not physical, explanations of miraculous phenomena which transcend known physical laws?

ASSUMPTIONS of "behavioristic" psychology, according to which "any normal, healthy child can be moulded to any desired pattern: artist or musician, recluse or social celebrity, craven or hero, fool or savant," are vigorously assailed by the geneticists. Two of these, David C. Rife and Laurence H. Snyder, of the Department of Zoology, Ohio State University, asserted in *Human Biology*, Baltimore quarterly for research in genetics, for 1931 (No. III), that no very pertinent data had been presented for such a sweeping hypothesis. Such data as were available were largely for the emotional side of development: likes and dislikes, fears and desires. They brought into play a most interesting array of cases where extraordinary special abilities in the fields of mathematical, mechanical, musical, or artistic ability, were found in morons or imbeciles, whose history permitted the assumption that these qualities were in some sense hereditary. Completely resistant to the behavioristic explanation were such instances as the twenty-seven-year-old idiot, too stupid even to speak or be taught to point at his eyes or ears, who nevertheless had no difficulty in finding at once the square roots of such numbers as 625, or 729, or 900, or

continuing when started the series 2, 4, 16, to 4,294,979,-296. The last stand of the behaviorists has been the experiment on the little twin boys, one "conditioned" since birth, the other non-conditioned and left to his own devices, who were taken to the circus when it last came to town in Manhattan. All predictions, however, proved delusive, and the unconditioned youngster showed as much sophistication as his highly "trained" brother.

THE PILGRIM.

The Facts behind Economics

Housing.—Before 1929 an average of about 400,000 houses was built every year in the United States. Last year only about 20,000 houses were erected in 257 cities. This is a decline of 95 per cent. If one fixes the average life of a building at forty years, one arrives at the high figure of 511,000 homes that have become obsolete each year since 1930. While only 20,000 houses were built last year, fire accounted for the destruction of 30,000 homes; this is the annual average of fire losses.

The deferred demand in the housing market may be illustrated further by the fact that between 1925 and 1929, a new house was built for every three marriages. But in the five years from 1930 to 1934, a new house was built for every sixteen marriages. As the number of marriages goes up with improving economic conditions, the housing shortage becomes more of a social problem. Last year, there were 1,345,000 marriages, as compared to 982,000 in 1932.

If there are thousands of houses to be built sometime in the near future, to satisfy at least part of this deferred demand, one may expect that they will represent higher standards than those of the typical American home which is described by the Department of Labor as follows: The typical home is a single-family dwelling, about nineteen years old, of frame construction, containing five rooms. It is equipped with either bathtub or shower, indoor water closet, uses electricity for lighting and gas for cooking. Mostly heating stoves are used for heat, although over 31 per cent of dwelling units use warm-air furnaces. Coal is the principal fuel used. This description is based on data for 2,663,000 dwelling units in sixty-four cities, 40 per cent of which were occupied by their owners. Nearly 80 per cent were single-family dwellings, while 13 per cent were two-family structures.

Now, this may be the typical American home. But there is another estimate embracing 54,000,000 people in the United States dependent on agriculture for their living, of whom:

- 80 per cent have to carry water from wells;
- 75 per cent have to get along with outdoor toilets;
- 93 per cent have neither bathtub nor shower;
- 82 per cent have to get along with kerosene or gasoline lamps;
- 48 per cent heat their homes with fireplaces;
- 54 per cent heat their homes with stoves;
- 62 per cent have to do their laundry work outdoors.

Apparently there is room for much improvement.

Juveniles.—Last year, the New York City police handled 17,195 juvenile cases. Social treatment was provided for 5,704 new cases of minors, of whom 3,150 were under sixteen years of age. From 1930 to last year, however, the number of juvenile delinquents decreased from 7,114 to 4,849. But this improvement seems to be restricted to white children. For looking into crime statistics, we find that between 1920 and 1933 arraignments of Negro children in the children's court of New York City increased no less than 241 per cent, whereas the Negro population of the city increased only 115 per cent over the same period. There are only a few inadequate facilities for caring for destitute and neglected children between the ages of four and twelve years, but almost none for those over twelve years of age.

In this connection, the fact may be duly recorded that in the first four months of the current year the Salvation Army aided in locating 238 missing persons, of whom more than 100 were boys and girls in their early teens. The runaways are younger this year than ever before. Contrary to popular belief, twice as many youngsters run away from New York City as run to it. Another fact that may not be very widely known is the number of children retarded in the elementary schools of New York City—and the proportion of these children is probably not very much different in the country. In September, 1932 (and the situation is very likely the same today), nearly 200,000 pupils in the elementary schools of New York City, or 28 per cent out of a total of 683,000, were repeating the grade or had previously repeated one or more grades. And when it comes to high schools, the percentage figure goes up instead of down, as 68,000 out of a total of 220,000 pupils registered in day high schools, that is, 31 per cent, were retarded one term or more. The number of juvenile delinquents and of retarded children is surprisingly high, and perhaps we might not be far wrong if we venture the guess that one has something to do with the other.

Wages.—It is a popular belief that rising wages means rising buying power. This, unfortunately, is not always true. Payrolls hit the lowest level at the beginning of 1933. Since then they recovered to the extent of more than 60 per cent. In contrast, average weekly earnings increased only 27 per cent, the number of employes rose by 31 per cent, total man-hours worked 26 per cent, while average weekly hours actually dropped 4 per cent. It may be added that industrial production during these same two years increased 38 per cent. In other words, payrolls in the manufacturing industries are not a reliable yardstick of purchasing power.

Now let us look at the profits arising from increased industrial production. In the first quarter of 1935, profits of 210 corporations in the United States increased about 22 per cent over a year ago. In comparison, dollar wages rose 5.5 per cent and "real" wages showed no increase at all, as the cost of living rose about 6 per cent over the same period. This trend continued in April, when payrolls of manufacturing industries were 3.9 per cent above a year ago, with hourly earnings 2.9 per cent, and the

average weekly pay 4.9 per cent above April, 1934. Again due to higher commodity prices, average weekly purchasing power was actually 1.1 per cent less than a year ago. The comparative trend of industrial earnings is shown in dividends declared in May by 776 corporations totaling \$329,000,000, as compared to \$267,400,000, declared by 731 corporations, in May, 1934. Are we again starting the cycle which began way back in 1923 and led up to Black October in 1929? GERHARD HIRSCHFELD.

Literature

Catholic Action and Pornography

JOHN J. GRIFFIN

SO clearly did the Legion of Decency demonstrate the tremendous power resident in the militant members of the Church when united in organized action that we may well consider some of the possibilities of that regimentation which proved so successful "a participation by the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy."

If there is an evil comparable to that represented by the salacious films which were streaming forth in unremitting succession from Hollywood, it is the flood of pornographic literature which is surfeiting the nation via the channels of virtually every corner fruit store, stationery store, circulating library, and neighborhood book-stall throughout the entire country. This is a portentous peril of parallel proportions and of compensurate malignity to the inundation of sexomaniacal films.

An accurate diagnosis should precede any synthetic or formulated program of action. What is the situation? Synthetically, it is this: that in millions of confectionary stores, variety emporiums, pharmaceutical agencies, stationery stands, and corner libraries throughout the length and breadth of America, within alluring reach of our precious youth, there are glamorous cesspools of literary iniquity.

There are three principal categories to be conjured with: first, the loathsome and gruesome merchandise of the omnipresent news-stands; secondly, the warped and wanton wares of the circulating libraries; thirdly, the notoriously cheap and utterly contemptible premiums of the local book-stalls.

Primary consideration must go to the infinitude and diversity of libidinous periodicals which embellish the customary urban news-stand and which run the gamut from palpable purveyors of filth to the less brazen brand that under the subtle guise of medicine or art, literature, current events, cinema, or physical culture, print and portray the licentious conceptions of commercial morons. The satanic press agents have an inexhaustible genius for the obviously palatable presentation of lasciviousness, atheism, Communism, and kindred sweetmeats of Gehenna and there is scarcely a possible disguise that their ingenuity has not subsidized.

There is a plenitude of "romance" magazines which convey the morality of neo-paganism, the philosophy of promiscuity, marital infidelity, divorce, revolt against

parental authority, prostitution politely called "companionate marriage," and corollaries of the same sinister nature; many of these under the semblance of narratives of true experience. There is the superfluity of art bulletins utilizing the nudes of ancient and modern painting and sculpture to lend respectability to their aristocratic banalities and democratic vulgarities; even the masterpieces of legitimate art are perverted to be channels syphoning the waste of mental sewers. There are the superabundant health and "practical medicine" organs which exalt birth control, "rejuvenation," sterilization, euthanasia, contraception, and diabolical devices of all description; the advertisements decorating this group are of the submundane strata. There is the multiplicity of very popular movie magazines which are ordained glorifiers of the immoralist of the screen and which have accomplished so much in the past to apotheosize for America's young manhood and young womanhood the "fascinating personalities" of Hollywood.

There is the exuberance of the crime couriers which perpetuate in scarlet-covered annals the sanguine malefactions and heroisms of carnage perpetrated by the denizens of the underworld, the innumerable journals which nurture criminal aberration in our youth by canonizing the human vultures who prey on society in their professed careers of plunder, kidnaping, and assassination. Of course, there are the half-hundred scientific monthly and cultured reviews which are only veiled emissaries of the Third International, messengers of all that is opposed to the truth of history, the sanity of science, the sanctity of culture, of all that is hostile to Christ and to His One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. But why continue? The list and the details are interminable.

The second aspect of the problem involves the status of the neighborhood circulating library, a growing and often flourishing institution. So grossly immoral are the customary products of these same that to the real lover of literature the very name of the circulating library has become synonymous with vicious letters. To the solicitous Christian this identification is sufficient indictment. Like the periodicals on the news stands the books in the circulating libraries are both of a serious spirit and of the character of fiction. The latter are usually preeminent in display and preponderant in numbers. They are constituted on the basic assumption that the reading appetite of the rabble or the "proletariate" is essentially voracious for the sexual, the sensational, the sophisticated.

A third species of pornographic propaganda is found in the corner book-stall which may or may not be engaged in the business of circulating literature, but the principal purpose of which is to sell the vitiated output of modern morality. The proprietor of the same, with due deference to his humble profession, is frequently the neighborhood druggist. A section of his shelves is replete with synoptic encyclopedias of voluptuousness which parade under a litany of tempting captions, are manufactured to sell for five dollars per copy, but always sell for from forty-nine cents to a dollar per volume by virtue of publishers' overstock. Here one finds "the confessions"

of the world's famous and infamous sinners, the revealing discoveries of psycho-analytic medical men, the confidential counsels of courtship connoisseurs, the latest researches into the benefits of nudism, the startling stories of mankind's history and humanity's evolution, the ravishing revelations of ancient ethnology, medieval superstition and modern physiology—all syncopated and syndicated.

It has been conceded that the one thing, above all others, that really terrified the moguls of California's great industry into practical action during the recent campaign was the vision of the Legion of Decency percolating down in hierarchical order from national centers right down into united parochial regiments.

The logical question presents itself, could not a similar vision be flashed before the avaricious press agents of Antichrist? Could we not use the same existent mobilized force of the Legion of Decency to rid our fair land of the deleterious influence of pornography? Only militant organization, or, rather, only the Organism of the Mystical Body of Christ galvanized by authoritative direction and electrified by Christly charity into concentrated action can accomplish the tremendous task of purifying the presses.

Unfortunately, a great many Catholics are proprietors of the news stands, circulating libraries, and book stores in question, and are purveyors of pollution either through culpable ignorance, neglect, or deliberate apathy. With renewed activity of the Legion of Decency a forcible presentation of the principles involved might well be all that would be necessary in such cases.

The difficulty of details in the instance of a campaign against pornography may indeed be greater than in the case of the corporately centered movie industry. However, the force that impressed that grand Board of Directors in Hollywood, after all, was the voice of the local proprietors of movie houses. So, in this event, the central publishing houses would soon heed the lesson contained in a series of sheaves representing cancelled orders.

At this juncture, two practical points might be brought to the fore. First, many of the magazines which are handled through a central metropolitan delivery system are bought with the right of full credit return provided they are not sold within a stipulated period. This being the case a simple boycott of magazines in a given locality would be ineffectual. A complete and absolute boycott of the respective stores would be necessary, as was required in the case of the local theaters.

Secondly, many of the book stalls are rented by concessionaries, especially in drug stores, and most probably would be removed with violent celerity if a threat of community boycott was registered, and most certainly, if the boycott was declared. Under such circumstances, if no quarter was given, and such should be the rule, a speedy capitulation must of very necessity be the result.

With the summer months approaching and hundreds of thousands of girls and boys in the dangerous days of their youth and leisure being once again exposed to the menace of pornography in its myriad manifestations, thoughtful consideration of this problem appears particularly apposite.

A Review of Current Books

Brave New World

A BETTER ECONOMIC ORDER. By John A. Ryan. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50. Published May 8.

DEPRESSION, recovery, and reconstruction are the three main headings of this volume. In the first two chapters, Dr. Ryan compares and contrasts the present crisis with previous periods of economic stagnation. Rejecting the purely monetary explanation of the panic, the author declares that "the main cause of the 1929 depression seems to have been over-production of capital goods and under-consumption of consumers' goods." It is a corollary of this theory that recovery can only come through a better distribution of purchasing power, i.e., higher wages for workers in industry and "the general establishment by law of the thirty-hour week." The author's advocacy of an adequate public-works program is well known. Msgr. Ryan was urging a \$5,000,000 bond issue for this purpose back in the early days of the Hoover regime. He now insists that this bond issue need not be financed by the Government payment of interest on loans from banks, corporations, or individuals. In other words, he believes that bonds that would pay no interest should be sold to the Federal Reserve System, to be repaid within a fixed period, the money or credit then to be destroyed. Far from regarding this as a step toward national bankruptcy, Msgr. Ryan is inclined to think that such a measure would provide a healthy inflation in hard times and prevent dangerous inflation in good times.

As to reconstruction, Dr. Ryan offers the plan of economic organization recommended by Pius XI in the "Quadragesimo Anno." This would be in effect a modern adaptation of the guild system. "The better economic order," he writes, "is essentially a guild organization adapted to a wage and machine system, plus a considerable measure of cooperative enterprise, government control, and government ownership." Occupational groups are suggested which "would bind men together, not according to the position they occupy in the labor market but according to the diverse functions which they exercise in society." In the shoe industry, for example, the owners, managers and employees would be united with reference to the common social function they perform, namely, that of producing shoes. These occupational groups would be empowered by law to fix wages, interest, dividends, and prices, to determine working conditions, and to adjust industrial disputes.

In view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Schechter poultry case, it is obvious that these objects cannot be effectively obtained by legislation without an amendment of the Federal Constitution. If this is enacted, then it might be feasible to provide for proper representation of both labor and the consumer on the boards or commissions that would shape policy for the above-mentioned occupational groups and trade associations. Since this portion of Dr. Ryan's work assumes the continuance of the NRA, it would necessarily have to be rewritten in the light of the recent decision by the highest court in the land.

JOSEPH FRANCIS THORNING.

Laissez-Faire's Old Enemy

VILLENEUVE-BARGEMONT. By Sister Mary Ignatius Ring. Bruce Publishing Company. \$3.50. Published April 17.

THIS work from the head of the department of economics, Notre Dame College, South Euclid, Ohio, belongs to the Science and Culture Series of which Father Joseph Husslein is the general editor. The chapters, twenty-six in number, are short and meaty with special emphasis upon fundamental ethical principles applied to the field of social economics.

The volume deserves a place on the shelves of our public libraries, and copies should be in the hands of all students of

economics, social-welfare workers, members of study clubs, and promoters of Catholic Action.

Legislators can learn from this precious work the evils of liberalism with its laissez-faire policy and the obligation of the State, in accordance with its twofold end, *viz.*, to protect individual and family rights and to promote temporal public prosperity, of promoting social reform and of stressing the social as well as the individual aspect of the right of private property.

Villeneuve-Bargemont was quick to realize that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* taught men the art of producing wealth but utterly failed to bring about its equitable distribution. The great leader of liberal economists was rightly criticized for upholding the fullest license under competition in defiance of the Ten Commandments and for bringing about a complete separation of political economy from moral philosophy.

Sister Mary Ignatius gives a list of nine publications of Villeneuve-Bargemont, but rightly stresses his *Economie Politique Chrétienne* as his most important work. If a second work is to supplement this, I might, with Father Valère Fallon, S.J., add his *History of Political Economy*, published in 1841.

Sister Mary Ignatius has done a great service to the cause of social justice in making English readers acquainted with the principles of Villeneuve-Bargemont, who was the precursor of the great Bishop von Ketteler and Pope Leo XIII. The parallel study of Pope Leo XIII, the great economist Pope, and his illustrious precursor, made in Chapter XXVI is one of the best of the book. The treatment of the "sufficient wage" by these two great champions of the cause of labor presents a most striking parallel and clearly sets forth the indissoluble bond that unites ethics and economics.

In appraising Villeneuve-Bargemont, we must look upon him not merely as an "apostle for the rights of the downtrodden," as Blanqui says, but also as a true Christian political economist who made an important contribution to the advancement of economic thought. His political economy is social and Christian, as opposed to the individualistic and non-Christian view of the liberal, laissez-faire school headed by Adam Smith, Say, and Senior.

HERBERT C. NOONAN.

Shorter Reviews

THE EUCHARIST AND EDUCATION. By Father Ger-vasius, O.M.Cap. Benziger Brothers. \$1.25.

THE author of this book (translated from the Dutch by Gregory Rybrook) is convinced that the "Catholic educator must be so filled with the Eucharistic, Christian Liturgical life that it will flow over into the souls of his pupils." From the fact, however, that five of the six chapters are devoted to the Eucharist as a Sacrament, one receives the impression that the writer conceives the Liturgical life as being largely a matter of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. This impression is hardly lessened by the final chapter on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, excellent summary though it is. Even in this chapter one finds little effort to explain what Kramp calls "the Church's Liturgical understanding of Holy Communion in and through the Holy Mass." Educators whom the Liturgical movement is teaching to appreciate the educational values of the Liturgical year will also note the author's omission of this subject. Within these limitations, however, the book is eminently calculated to provide that correct and accurate knowledge of the Eucharist which the author desiderates for the Catholic educator of the very young.

E. A. C.

UNION WITH GOD: THE LETTERS OF DOM MARMION. By Dom Raymond Thibaut, O.S.B. London: Sands and Company. 7/6.

ABBOT MARMION'S previously published works have already established him among the really great masters of the spiritual life. This long-awaited collection of his letters,

edited and annotated by his biographer, Dom Thibaut, and translated from the French, will undoubtedly confirm his thousands of disciples in their discipleship. Here is found the same Christocentric doctrine that so strongly marked his famous trilogy, a doctrine broadly based upon the fundamental facts of faith—to put it briefly, that typical Marmion "spirituality in the round" which has attracted so many souls dissatisfied by the bas-relief variety. Besides, and this makes for their special appeal, the letters reveal what "a very high and very humble human personality" their writer was, in a way that the published conferences could never do. Dom Thibaut has drawn upon his intimate knowledge of the character and doctrine of his great confrere to give summaries and comments which measurably enhance the value of the letters. These are carefully graduated according to a simple, rugged plan which would have delighted the logical mind of their author.

E. A. C.

THE NAZI DICTATORSHIP. By Frederick L. Schuman. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.00. Published April 22.

THIS is a devastating and documental indictment of the Nazi terror, and a narrative of what led up to it, written from intimate personal experience.

Dr. Schuman views politics through behavioristic glasses. For him politics "is the art of conditioning emotional responses in a designated direction and of manipulating the non-rational collective behavior which results." This is fine for psyching the Nazis, whose "dynamic delirious activism," he explains, was the same as "paranoic schizophrenia." But it really ought to work both ways. Although the Social Democratic party in Germany was suffering from "collective catatonic schizophrenia" or coma, it only manifested itself in refusing to enter a united front with the Communists, and these latter were psychic simply because they would not resort to revolution. But the Nazis were psychic from the feet up.

Though the glandular theory provides an arsenal of epithets, it provides much too easy an escape from the hard fact that politics is conditioned by ideas quite as well as emotions, that these ideas have certain sequences, and that it is foolish to ignore them. Nor does it make matters altogether clear to wave the wand of general negation, as Dr. Schuman does, over certain well-known and genuinely irritating features of Jewish predominance in pre-Nazi Germany, however inexcusable were the hysteria and brutal injustices that ensued. The author's pet theories, however, do not prevent his recognizing the moral power of Christianity in its conflict with Nazi paganism: "In the Church, and in the Church alone, the Nazi dictatorship has found an insuperable obstacle to its absolutistic pretensions." Nor do they interfere with the course of a lucid, cleverly arranged, and highly readable narrative.

J. L. F.

THE ENJOYMENT OF LITERATURE. By Elisabeth Drew. W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.50.

A BOOK that will help the inexperienced adventurer in literature by its contagious enthusiasm. To test the writer's critical standards, the reviewer turned first to her chapter on drama; he soon found some satisfying statements: "The function of the plot, which is the most important element in drama, [italics mine] is to present a structure of situation in which the characters are caught and tested and revealed by the circumstances in which they are involved . . . this sense of the universal behind the particular and the eternal behind the temporal is the touchstone of all great dramatic creations in all ages," and her remark that in tragedy we must look for "a harmony, if a harmony can be found, in the discovery of values other than those of this world." There is surely in such ideas as these, though one may without disparagement doubt whether the writer is fully conscious of its high importance, the germ of the right view of tragedy and comedy. But she is aware of the futility of much modern romantic criticism of Shakespeare, not sparing even Bradley the Great. A final chapter

on "The Critic and the World Today" sets forth, and apparently without too much sympathy for its vagaries, the muddled modern mind from which oozes criticism without standards. One regrets exceedingly that she has failed to see emerging more and more distinctly, as it is emerging, through the murkiness the true humanism of the Scholastics with its standards that are hospitable to both classic and romantic.

W. H. McC.

A HISTORY OF MUSICAL THOUGHT. By D. N. Ferguson. F. S. Crofts and Company. \$5.00.

TO write on the art of music and to avoid in doing so not only the obvious chatty superficiality of the average book dealing with the appreciation of the art but also the dry technicalities of a mere chronicle of historical facts is no small accomplishment. With remarkable success, Mr. Ferguson has achieved this, and his work should prove of inestimable value to all lovers of music from the casual admirer to the accomplished artist and teacher. Following an exceptionally well-balanced plan and written in a most readable fashion, even when dealing with such difficulties as the relation of the Greek and Gregorian modes, the development of notation, and especially the question of equal temperament, the book also boasts an attractive format with fine illustrations.

Unusually accurate with respect to Catholic church music, one wonders, however, why the author has not transferred his examples of Gregorian Chant into modern notation according to the rhythmic principles developed by the Solesmes monks. It is also regrettable that he has omitted the Solesmes records of the Chant from an otherwise satisfactory list of the great masterpieces available to us through the medium of the phonograph.

P. X. S.

THE MISSION BELLS OF CALIFORNIA. By Marie T. Walsh. San Francisco: Harr Wagner Publishing Company.

HERE is a unique book, unique in subject matter, unique in interest. One would hardly imagine that such seemingly commonplace things as bells could have such a romantic story until one reads of the mission bells of California. With the enthusiasm and untiring energy of one who loves the beauties of a noble past, now almost gone, she has sought out the tale of each of those staunch witnesses of California's early glories. She has traced many to their foundries, Mexican, Peruvian, New England, Russian even; others she has followed to the re-casting cauldron and seen them back again to their *campanario*; some she has trailed through their wanderings from mission to mission down to modern church and, perhaps, museum; other some go unsung only because they have been removed from their tower or cross-beam by souvenir-hunters with strong acquisitive instincts. Her bell search took her up and down famous old El Camino Real over and over again, and many are the delightful little stories she has to tell of its missions, their Padres, and their bells. The historian of California's missions will thank her for her splendid research and the interested reader for the charming way in which she has told it. One discordant note: when treating of matters purely historical the book contains a few inaccuracies—for instance, Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, a Mercedarian, and Juan Díaz, a secular priest, not Franciscans, accompanied Cortés to Mexico. Again, the more widely publicized St. Bartholomew's Day was in 1572, not 1571.

J. F. B.

Recent Non-Fiction

THE WAY OF SIMPLICITY. By W. E. Orchard, D.D. Those who are attracted by the title of this book are due to be disappointed. It is not a "Guide for the Perplexed," as the subtitle claims. It is anything but that. After describing simplicity as the mark of true religion, the author launches into 300 pages of close-packed philosophy, theology, and advice, the monotony of which is very irritating. Each chapter in a book like this ought to leave the reader with one clear idea which appeals to the will; something definite which can be done. There is nothing like that. Instead,

the dull monotony of distinctions and refutations leads the reader to suspect that the author is too scrupulously fearful lest he leave something unsaid. As a result nothing stands out. Anyone wishing to write a book on the Simple Way to God might read the book with profit. But the perplexed of soul? No! (Dutton. \$2.00)

EVERYBODY'S PARIS. By John Brangwyn. The ideal book for the American who wants facts. There is an excellent plan of the layout of Paris—which has been "building itself out of its own foundations" for 1,800 years. Through the running comment on "How Paris Keeps Shop," "The Pantry of Paris," "The Purse of Paris," etc., there is continual historical reference. Published April 18. (McBride. \$3.00.)

THE LONDON SCENE. By H. V. Morton. What is a Livery Company? Where in London does the highest tribunal of the British Empire administer law? Where is the ancient church where the Knights Templars worshiped? These and many other questions about London (from the days when it was a walled Roman city down to the present year) are answered in this interesting book. Highly recommended. (McBride. \$2.50)

LYRA MARTYRUM: THE POETRY OF THE ENGLISH MARTYRS, 1503-1681. Edited by the Rev. Sir John R. O'Connell.

From More to Postgate: "But, England, hear. My heart is sad, for thy great cruelty," sings one of the last. And the reader, too, who knows Englishmen at their best will be heavy with the sadness of their ancestors' extinction of English voices like these at many Tyburns. Singing, in their songs they died. And here is poetry of the supernatural that college anthologists should garner from, an antidote for neo-paganist poetry. An excellent critical introduction. (Burns, Oates, and Washbourne. 6/.)

Recent Fiction

MORNING IN GASCONY. By Jay William Hudson. The quiet peace of its setting and the warm humanity of its people make this Gascon idyl delightful reading. Most readers will be consumed with a helpless desire to annihilate the high-handed and smug American hero. But even that very natural reaction will not spoil the enjoyment of this story. (Appleton-Century. \$2.50)

BEAUTY'S DAUGHTER. By Kathleen Norris. Another problem novel on the Norris pattern. But this, Mrs. Norris' fifty-fourth book, is better than all the others. Convincing are her living arguments for the sanctity of marital fidelity. But Catholic readers will note that once more the author puts all on the basis of merely natural virtue. (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.00)

DADDY AND I. By Elizabeth Jordan. A wise, whimsical, poignant delineation of the adolescent mind and heart, not to be missed, at least by readers with an affection for the sort of stuff in Tarkington's *Seventeen*. (Appleton-Century. \$2.00)

THE LODGER. By Marie Belloc Lowndes. The famous horror story based on the case of Jack the Ripper. One of the best examples of sustained suspense, now re-issued in a cheaper edition. Published May 29. (Longmans, Green. \$1.00)

THE SAINT GOES ON. By Leslie Charteris. Three novelettes about Simon Templar, the unscrupulous adventurer known as the "Saint." Worth reading, perhaps good enough, but Mr. Charteris seems to be resting on his oars. (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.00)

SHOT AT DAWN. By John Rhode. A typically slow-moving English detective story, with Dr. Priestley helping out Scotland Yard. The mystery is puzzling (and a bit mathematical), with the reader given every chance to solve it. (Dodd, Mead. \$2.00)

THE GREAT HOTEL MURDER. By Vincent Starrett. An engaging dramatic critic (who fancies himself as a detective) occupies the center of the stage in this mystery of Chicago hotels and Wisconsin woods. A well-plotted, nicely written story, spotted by a few vulgarities that should have been omitted. (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.00)

Letters on Father Coughlin

Depraved Wills the Root Trouble

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In your article on Father Coughlin appearing in the issue of AMERICA for May 18, you said: "We will be saved by no mechanical, automatic plan, but by a change of mind and soul." Whose mind and soul? The worker has always been willing to agree to the theory of a living wage and security in his employment. Do we need to convert him?

The employer is sometimes reluctant to agree to collective bargaining; to the payment of a living wage; to the principle that labor is not a commodity which he is at liberty to purchase in the market as cheaply as possible. The employer, although agreeing that the worker should have security in his employment, is reluctant to take any steps toward the effectuation of that principle. While admitting that certain forms of competition are harmful to industry, he refuses to give up his right of free competition.

How are we going to convert the employer? For many years we have been preaching the principles outlined above. Up to the present there has been no appreciable effect and it does not seem rational on the basis of this experience to hope for a much greater effect in the near future. There are then only two ways left. One is to exercise the political power resident in the workers to force the employers to operate in accordance with these principles. The other is to wait until, by means of the propagation of the Faith, we have established a Catholic culture, the ideas of which will so permeate and inform the institutions of society that we will have the voluntary association of employer and employee to effect a just sharing of the profits and an equitable operation of industry. To achieve the latter is a slow operation and will take centuries perhaps. In the meantime there is injustice and poverty and misery. Should we wait or should we attempt to outline some legislation that will bring about the desired effect and appeal to the political power of the workers to get the legislation into the statute books?

Brighton, Mass.

BERNARD M. DOHERTY.

Opposes Discussion

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Why should the Editor of AMERICA single out the most outstanding and popular Catholic in the United States, Father Coughlin, challenging the sincerity of his motives? Granting the truth of all your statements and contentions that his speeches and the principles of the National Union for Social Justice contain some errors and contradictions, does this justify your attack? Do you know of any program of principles that is perfect?

Father Coughlin's humanitarian efforts will, despite some errors claimed by you, do more to destroy bigotry, intolerance, hatred of Catholics than all the sermons and learned discourses; so, in my humble opinion, your articles will do nothing save create antagonism and resentment.

Bluefield, W. Va.

W. C. SLUSHER, M.D.

Deplores Personalities

To the Editor of AMERICA:

No one, unless he be an economist, can pass efficient judgment upon your analysis of Father Coughlin's arguments. But every reader must agree that your rebuttals are logical and are confined to facts. It is only a conquered adversary who is driven to refute argument with personalities! To me, such a course of action would become a matter of conscience; however, let us leave this to Father Coughlin's conscience.

A Catholic worthy of the name recognizes humility as the paramount virtue. It is the corner-stone of the spiritual life. Our first Teacher preached and lived it. Is Father Coughlin adhering to His example? Next to humility is charity. Christ taught charity with His expiring breath. Would it not have been more edifying

if Father Coughlin had been able to say before his vast assemblage of listeners in commenting upon AMERICA's stand: "Forgive them, Father, they know not what they do"? But cool, sane argument was lacking, so Coughlin, the man, forgot Father Coughlin, the priest, and resorted to calumny. Perhaps that will be like the boomerang of the "first stone."

Father Coughlin's figure of Christ driving the money changers from the temple has caught popular fancy. But isn't he himself a money changer, or am I too literal? When Christ, the priest, flayed those money changers He was on His way *into* the temple, not upon a public rostrum. And Christ, the Maker of priests, would have respected all priests regardless of their various ideas on economics.

Flushing, N. Y.

MARIE DUFF.

Smug

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In your recent article, "Father Coughlin and Social Justice," you sum up the good Father's activities along these lines, agree with many of his principles and then damn his work by referring to it as an "automatic, mechanical plan." It is all very well for you smug editors and priests to write, preach and pray in order to put across your "change of mind and soul" plan; but what have you accomplished? However, don't be discouraged after all these centuries. Keep on doing what you're doing, and in the meantime we, the millions of unemployed, will string along with good Father Coughlin. And let the best man—or plan—win.

Boston, Mass.

DANIEL E. MORAN.

Syllogistic

To the Editor of AMERICA:

As I gather from your article on Father Coughlin, your line of reasoning is the following.

Major: The fundamental object of the Coughlin central bank plan is to vest the financial power of the nation in a group of forty-eight men elected by popular vote, thereby relieving the main cause of the depression-control of credit by private banks and bankers.

Minor: This method would have all the evils of the old system plus many new evils, for it would degenerate into political control of money and would tend to perpetuate one party in power, that is, the totalitarian state. It is an important aim of the Socialists. The plan would not relieve the depression, whose main cause was and is industrial maladjustment, not financial.

Therefore, the Coughlin central bank plan is unsound, socialistic and would fail in its main object.

Let us consider the major premise. The fundamental object of the bank plan is to return the power over money to Congress through a board of governors. Whether these officials should be elected by popular vote or come into office in some other manner is highly debatable. I agree that there is danger of political degeneration if they are elected by the people. I prefer to see them appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, as are the members of the Supreme Court. This method seems to have given us able jurists and administrators. This is a detail and though highly important is far from the fundamental object of the plan.

The central bank means that the real control of money in all its forms will reside in the Government of the United States and not in the hands of private individuals. In your article you never once attacked the fundamental idea of a central bank—directly. Rather you attacked a detail of the plan, the method of electing the governors. To prove that this detail is impractical or dangerous does not establish that the idea of a central bank is impractical or dangerous.

As to your minor premise, I deny that the central bank plan

would have all the evils of the old system plus many new ones. You failed to offer any reasonable proof of this assertion; hence it merits no argument to disprove it. You assert it would tend to perpetuate one party in power. Prove it. Has the fact that the United States Treasury has always been politically controlled tended to perpetuate one party in power?

It is an important aim of the Socialists. So is government ownership. Do you condemn all government ownership because Socialists advocate it? And doesn't Pius XI say in effect that some resources are too precious to the people to be privately owned or controlled? What resource is more important to the people than that of credit?

Finally, you claim that the main cause of the depression is industrial maladjustment and not financial. This is your best argument against the Coughlin plan, because, as you say, Father Coughlin claims that it is wholly financial and that the correction of the financial maladjustment is the remedy for the depression. I believe you are both partly wrong and both partly right. No one can convincingly establish either thesis beyond debate. I believe that industrial maladjustment and financial maladjustment were the two main causes of the depression, as closely linked as Siamese twins. If, as I believe, there was a grave financial cancer in our body politic, the only remedy is to strip private bankers of their excessive powers. Only in this way can this government be returned to its original character, a democratic republic. As long as a small group can control the bulk of the nation's credit, this nation will remain a financial oligarchy, no matter who is President or whom we elect to Congress. If the power over money is to be returned to the people we must have a central bank to act as agent of the people.

Detroit, Mich.

JOHN GEO. SLEVIN, M.D.

[The Doctor agrees, therefore, that the Nye-Sweeney bill is impracticable. Control of credit can be lodged in the people without giving to the Government the power to grant credit. The Treasury does not control credit now; it merely collects or borrows, and dispenses money to pay for Government operations. To give it the power to emit money or credit would be obviously dangerous. How this would be was proved in my article. I admit that banker control or operation of industry is one of the evils that perpetuates economic slavery. But this is not a monetary matter, it still remains industrial. W.P.]

Applauds

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I have been reading your articles on Father Coughlin. You are rendering a fine service in this regard by your clear, impartial and discerning discussions of the issues which Father Coughlin has raised. You have put me personally under obligation by this intelligent analysis of his economic fallacies and have rendered a public service. I wish these articles could be given very wide circulation, not only among Catholics, but among our citizens generally. They would facilitate a return to sanity.

I was also greatly pleased to note your very dignified reply to the irritating comments upon your activities which Father Coughlin made in his New York address.

New York.

ROBERT A. ASHWORTH,
Educational Secretary,

The National Conference of Jews and Christians.

The Way Out and the Way Beyond

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I read with interest your most recent comments on Father Coughlin. He has a plan, he believes it conforms to the Encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. He boldly pushes forward with his plan and meets the opposition of just a few of the millions of bewildered and confused listeners.

I am for Father Coughlin. At least he is man enough to build a boat with which he and others believe we can ride out of this flood. At least he recognizes the serious need of prompt, intelligent action.

The only other attempt at a complete plan coming from a Catho-

lic source, that I know of, is that of Father F. J. Kunnecke. I believe his plan is more comprehensive than that implied by Father Coughlin's many points. The American Society of Mechanical Engineers' research committee thought enough of Father Kunnecke's work to give it prominent mention and a brief review in 1933.

With the Supreme Court decision, we shall have more confusion. The time is here for more Catholic thinking and Catholic action. I propose Father Kunnecke's, "The Way Out and the Way Beyond," to you as a substantial contribution in the practical application of both Encyclicals, "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno."

Dayton, Ohio.

M. J. GIBBONS.

We Are Villains

To the Editor of AMERICA:

You take Father Coughlin to task for his views in general. You mention particularly his suggestions on the money question. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, concurs with Father Coughlin in his banking policy. Senator Glass differs and the renowned banker, Mr. Vanderlip, disagrees with Mr. Glass. Who is right? You show dislike for Father Coughlin's ideas on economics as unsound. How many of the so-called "shining lights" on economics who were called to Washington by the Administration were in agreement with each other? Professors Moley, Warren, Fisher, and others clashed in their views. With whom do you agree?

The contemptuous disregard of the international bankers in mulcting millions of Americans of billions of dollars in worthless bonds is silently passed over in your criticism of Father Coughlin. May I ask why? Your motive in writing these articles was primarily to alienate the followers of this courageous priest. That is obvious. Do you think you have succeeded? Are you in touch with the pulse of the people, high and low, Catholic and non-Catholic, as he is? The great mass of the people may not quite understand the intricacies of finance and economics, as you infer, but, thank God, we admire and reverence the man who has the welfare of the masses at heart; the one who courageously champions the cause of the unfortunate. These in the Catholic Church constitute the bulk and flower, who line the Holy Communion rail every Sunday. These are the very life blood of the Catholic Church, the ones who love Father Coughlin. In unison, we say, Thank God for Father Coughlin!

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOSEPH J. MULLALY.

Calls It Masquerade

To the Editor of AMERICA:

With an interest amounting to enthusiasm, I have read your three articles on Father Coughlin's theories. I want to congratulate you, with all my heart, on your admirable accomplishment, and upon the high degree of courage displayed in performing a necessary and timely service in the cause of truth.

It has been quite overlooked in recent public discussion that Catholic social action is based upon the Papal Encyclicals and that nothing can or will be accomplished unless these are understood, accepted, and given practical application insofar as this is possible. I assert very definitely that this has not been tried by the current group of self-appointed social reformers. We have been presented with a masquerade, using the word in a literal sense, and I hope that with your help that kind of show will soon be over, and that we will be back on the sound stage of reality with the Popes and their teachings as our program.

As for the outrageous personal attack on you, I take it that your religious philosophy will lead you to take that as part of being a member of the Society; and, practically speaking, you may derive some satisfaction from the fact that it indicates that your argumentative opponent knows that he has the losing side of the argument.

New York.

EDWARD A. McALLISTER.

Chronicle

Home News.—On June 6 the House Ways and Means Committee recommended a simple "stop-gap" resolution to continue until April 1, 1936, the National Industrial Recovery Act, with a clause repealing all power granted to the President to approve or impose codes of fair competition. The House passed the resolution on June 7, voting 264 to 121. On June 10 Senate Administration leaders agreed to a limitation of the President's power to suspend anti-trust laws for voluntary adherents to NRA principles. Passage of the resolution was delayed until June 13, when it was approved, 41 to 13, after an all-night filibuster by Senator Long was broken. The Senate remained in session through the night of June 12, finally adjourning at 7.21 A.M. The measure was then sent to the House for final action. On the same day Donald R. Richberg's resignation as chairman of the National Industrial Recovery Board, effective June 16, was announced. On June 9 the National Industrial Conference Board estimated that the general administrative cost of NRA for industry and the government was \$93,884,595. On June 11 the Senate, voting 56 to 32, passed the Wheeler-Rayburn utilities holding company bill, and sent it to the House. Two efforts to curb the proposed power of the Securities and Exchange Commission to force dissolution or reorganization of holding corporations were defeated by votes of 45 to 44, and 45 to 43. An amendment by Senator Borah was approved, making it mandatory upon the Commission to dissolve every public utility holding company except those in the "first degree," over which discretion would be exercised. On June 7 the President asked the extension for one year of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act of 1933 and the continuance of the office of Federal Coordinator of Railroads. The Senate passed such a resolution on June 10, and the House on June 12. On June 8 President Roosevelt went to Hyde Park, N. Y., and on June 12 from there to West Point, returning to Washington the same day. On June 10 and 11 Midwest Republicans held their "G-ass Roots" conference at Springfield, Ill. The conference criticized all New Deal policies except the AAA but avoided direct reference to NRA. It advocated a return of the gold standard, a modified McNary-Haugen farm bill, and recognition of the principle of collective bargaining between labor and industry. It declared for preservation of the Constitution, and suggestions were made that the party name be changed to "Constitutional party."

Mexico: Calles vs. Cárdenas.—General Calles, Mexico's "strong man," on June 12 severely criticized political and economic conditions under President Cárdenas. He stated that many recent strikes were unjustified and considered them "not only ingratitude but treason." He said that "when divisions of political groups begin on a personal basis and Deputies, Senators, Governors, Ministers, and finally the army take part, the result is armed

conflict and national disaster." He claimed a long friendship with Cárdenas but deplored the divisions of Cárdenistas and Callistas in Congress, and pointed that a similar situation has brought about the "retirement" of President Ortiz Rubio. It was reported that many prominent officials had resigned but an official statement from Presidential headquarters denied this. The Leftist bloc of Deputies declared that "General Calles has been misinformed." On June 13, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, through the permanent commission, promised Calles their complete support; business leaders approved his action; but labor organizations vigorously disapproved of his criticism. On June 10, the Rotary executive committee of 300 members arrived in Mexico City for a five-day meeting preceding the world convention, which was to open June 17.

Chaco Truce.—On June 12 the Chaco War conferees assembled at Buenos Aires secured the approval of Bolivia and Paraguay to an agreement ending the past three years' hostilities. Fighting ceased the following day and demobilization of the two armies took place: they would be reduced to a maximum strength of 5,000 men. The agreement was preliminary to the peace conference that must adjust the differences between the two countries. The agreement was the result of the good offices of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, and the United States. Announcement of the peace was greeted with joy not only in Asuncion and La Paz but in South American capitals generally. In anticipation of the truce the days preceding June 12 were characterized by heavy fighting, each of the belligerents attempting to gain whatever advantage was possible.

North China Crisis.—Sino-Japanese relations became notably strained when Tokyo made formal demands to the Central Government regarding North China. Charging anti-Japanese acts, Tokyo demanded in addition to the cessation of all anti-Japanese propaganda, the immediate settlement of Japanese loans, revision of Nanking tariff laws unfavorably affecting Japanese trade and a guarantee that Japan would be invited to participate in any future international loan to China. The Nanking Government met some of these demands in a conciliatory fashion, particularly by the removal of officials unsatisfactory to Tokyo, and withdrawing some of the Central Government's troops from the Peiping and Tientsin areas. However, the Chinese authorities had failed to completely satisfy Japanese demands when the ultimatum expired at midnight on June 12. As Japan was massing troops along the frontier it was feared there might be a military occupation of the Peiping-Tientsin district. On the other hand, statesmen in both countries expressed optimistic hopes that the difficulties would be diplomatically ironed out. To complicate the situation unconfirmed reports on June 13 stated that Japan was pressing further demands upon General Ho, Chinese War Minister, which would include official recognition of Manchukuo and a Government ban on newly named officials.

British Cabinet Reconstructed.—A change of Government was quietly effected through the reconstruction of the Cabinet. The proportions of party representation for the continuation of the National Government were preserved, through the continuance of three Liberals and three Laborites of the groups who had merged with the Conservatives; two added posts were given to the Conservatives, who then numbered sixteen. As stated last week, Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald exchanged places, the former becoming Premier while the latter took the office of Lord President of the Council. This was the third time that Mr. Baldwin headed the Government, and the second time that he succeeded Mr. MacDonald. In the Foreign Office, Sir Samuel Hoare succeeded Sir John Simon, who became Home Secretary and Deputy Leader in the Commons. A special position was created for Anthony Eden, in view of his success in foreign diplomacy, namely, Minister for League of Nations Affairs. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister took over the Ministry for Air from the Marquess of Londonderry, who was retained as Lord Privy Seal. Malcolm MacDonald was promoted to be Secretary for the Colonies. A more Conservative outlook was thus given to the Government by these changes, even though the form of the National Government was retained.

Laval's Cabinet.—On June 7, the personnel of the new French Cabinet was announced as follows: Premier and Foreign Affairs, Pierre Laval; State, Louis Marin, Pierre-Etienne Flandin, and Edouard Herriot; Justice, Leon Bérard; Interior, Joseph Paganon; Finance, Marcel Regnier; War, Jean Fabry; Marine, François Piétri; Air, Victor Denain; Education, Philippe Marcombes; Colonies, Louis Rollin; Labor, Louis Frossard; Postal, Georges Mandel; Agriculture, Pierre Cathala; Merchant Marine, Mario Roustan; Pensions, Henri Maupoil; Commerce, Georges Bonnet; Public Works, Laurent Eynac; Health, Ernest Lafont. Observers remarked that this Government was drawn from most of the parties and was not politically coherent, but it was expected to hold together for probably four months. On June 8, the Premier appeared before the Chamber of Deputies and asked for authority to proceed with the measures he might judge necessary to save the franc. These were the powers denied by the Chamber both to Flandin and Bouisson. Larger than expected was the majority given to Laval, for the final count showed 324 to 160. On the same day the Senate concurred in the grant of power, voting 233 to 15 in favor of Laval. There were, however, fifteen abstentions. An immediate sense of relief over the financial situation became apparent in Paris and throughout the nation. The franc began to rise at once.

Grecian Elections.—On June 9 Greece voted a Grand Parliament to be substituted for the Chamber and Senate and especially convened to revise the Constitution. Election returns gave the Tsaldaris-Kondylis party 287 of the 300 mandates. They gained only about sixty-five per cent of the votes cast, but these were so distributed that the

Metaxas Monarchists only got seven seats, the Macedonian party six and the Communists, notwithstanding they received fifteen per cent of the total vote, secured no parliamentary representation. Many Venizelists abstained from voting. The returns practically decided that the Presidency is to be strengthened, not the Monarchy restored. On the other hand, the Monarchists continued to demand a plebiscite. The first act of the Tsaldaris-Kondylis Government was an indefinite postponement of the plebiscite demanded by the Monarchists.

Nazis Exploit Catholic Trials.—The cases against members of Religious Orders accused of violating the foreign-exchange regulations were being exploited by the German Government in a widespread anti-Catholic campaign. The inspired Nazi press loosed a far-flung campaign of vilification against the Church as a whole. The Government has arranged to spread out the trials all through the summer in an effort, it was said, to turn the German public mind against the Catholic Church. Father Peter Schain, of Cologne, was sentenced to one month in jail for permitting use of fanfares by a Catholic youth group. Father Emil Breinlinger, of Baden, was sentenced to eight months in prison charged with criticizing the Nazi regime. Father Friedenbahn, of Hauendorf, and Father Giles, of Mayen, were also imprisoned because of alleged criticism of the Nazi regime. The Catholic weekly, *Christkoenigsbote*, was suppressed. Local Catholic youth groups of Ulm, Wuerttemberg, were also suppressed. Hans Rust, Federal Secretary of Education, forbade circulation of religious publications among youths in the farming training camps. The Protestant Augsburg Confessional Synod adopted unanimously a memorandum to be sent to the Reich Government, stating that obedience contrary to the command of God cannot be given by the Church.

Ethiopian Concession.—The Italian note to Ethiopia complaining about a reported frontier clash near Tafari Katama was met on June 11 by a bitter charge on the part of Foreign Minister Herouy. The latter claimed that Italian agents had been attempting to bribe some of the chiefs of the province of Ogaden, near the Somaliland frontier. The note handed to the Italian Minister at Addis Ababa protested also against the continued aggressions of the Italian troops. At the same time an English newspaper printed a rumor to the effect that Premier Mussolini was ready to call off the colonial preparations for war in return for a railroad concession linking together the two Italian colonies in East Africa. Under the reported terms, Italy, it was said, would agree to no further military action and would send the boundary dispute to arbitrators. On Ethiopia's part, permission would be granted for the building of a line from Massaua, on the Red Sea, to Magadozo, the Italian port in Somaliland. Italy would also have the right to police the railroad zone.

Cuba's Constitution.—On June 1 President Mendieta announced the re-establishment of the original 1901 Con-

stitution in a modified form. Upon publication of the modified Constitution the "state of war" under which the island is being ruled will be terminated and civil authority will be re-established. On June 11 in a joint session, the Cabinet and the Council of State signed the decree formally restoring the original Constitution modified, however, so as to allow the general elections to be held at the end of the year. An important modification of the Constitution grants to women the right to vote and provides that Cuban women married to foreigners will retain their citizenship. Provisions have also been made for the new Congress to modify the Constitution within six months after it convenes. Decision as to whether the death penalty will be eliminated or written into the new Constitution will rest with the new Congress. Until the general elections all laws will be promulgated by decree as before.

Canada's New Legislation.—Prior to the close of the Parliamentary session, the expectation that Prime Minister Bennett would resign was rather negatived. There was a fear that Harry Stevens, former Minister of Trade and Commerce, would be strong enough to obtain leadership in the Conservative party. Final legislation was effected in the New Deal program, mostly in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Motions for the control of corporations were passed, also for legalizing prices and production, and for doing away with unfair competition in both respects, with provision for prosecution in trade practices judged criminal. A national grain board was set up for the control of this product. The problems of tariff and taxation in the new program were postponed till October, after the elections.

Goering in Yugoslavia.—The German Air Minister, General Goering, was the guest of Belgrade in the early part of the month. While it was stated that his visit was part of his extended honeymoon, well-informed political circles interpreted it as an occasion for conferences with Yugoslavian authorities regarding Germany's plan to create a great anti-Russian bloc under German domination from the North Sea to the Adriatic. The group would include Germany, Poland, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. In the interest of this anti-Russian bloc Germany would guarantee the independence of Austria and the north frontiers of Italy. Yugoslavia would favor German intervention for a security arrangement with Hungary and Italy but an anti-Russian bloc would probably be unwelcome. It might involve a breach between Belgrade and France, the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente States. General Goering had several conversations with Regent Paul, Premier Yevtitch, the War Minister, and Milan Stoyadinovitch who was rumored as a likely successor to Dr. Yevtitch.

Germany Limits Navy.—Agreements reached by the special German Ambassador, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and the British Government, in London, were considered almost as final adjustments. Germany relinquished in whole

or in part her two propositions, namely, naval equality with France or a fixed ratio of thirty-five per cent of the British strength. The ratio with Great Britain was accepted as a permanent basis, irrespective of the French strength which was shown to be in excess of thirty-five per cent. The percentage, then, was defined; it was not to be in total tonnage, for that would permit Germany to build a disproportionate number of submarines and thus endanger British supremacy; it was to be applied in each category of ships so that the thirty-five per cent would be applied in each division.

Moscow and Czechoslovakia.—Dr. Eduard Benes, Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, and Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, held conversations in Moscow. At their conclusion a lengthy but vague communiqué was jointly issued by the Ministers. It was limited to emphasizing that the opposition to security pacts and the fear of war was increasing collective efforts for security and reiterating the determination of both countries to continue such joint efforts. The communiqué was full of expressions of mutual friendship and a desire for increasingly closer cultural relations. As the two countries had already signed a mutual-assistance pact and a credit agreement on the most liberal terms, the Moscow Government was unwilling to admit that Dr. Benes' visit was anything more than a friendly gesture.

Nazis Release Torgler.—Ernst Torgler, former Communist leader in the Reichstag, who has been in prison since his acquittal in 1933 in the Reichstag fire trial, was given his liberty. Negotiations were said to have been opened by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Minister of Economics, with Germany's foreign creditors for prolongation of the transfer moratorium on the Reich's foreign long-term debts. The number of unemployed dropped 213,000 during May, reducing the unemployed total to 2,020,000. The industrial production index for the first quarter of this year was 87.2 per cent of the 1926 level. The German Foreign Office awaited without comment its recent notes to the British, French, Italian and Belgian Governments, objecting officially to the Franco-Soviet mutual-aid pact as incompatible with the Locarno treaty.

Selden Peabody Delany's paper, "Cleverness as an Obstacle to Faith," which has been held over two weeks, due to press of other matter, will appear next week.

Another article that has been held over is Laurence Kent Patterson's "Drifting toward Armageddon." It remains most timely.

Now that the tide of letters about Father Coughlin and the Editor's articles on him has abated, the Editor will sum up the controversy in a report on the letters, "Father Coughlin: The Aftermath."

In England radio is controlled by a private licensed corporation, the British Broadcasting Corporation. Stanley James will write next week on "BBC Religion."